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Britain in India:

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Have We Benefited?

BY

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PRESS OPINIONS.

"BRITAIN IN INDIA: HAVE WE BENEFITED."

(Fourth Edition—Revised and Enlarged).

BY

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[Price Rs. 2-8-0 or 4s.]

1. The Pioneer, Allahabad, dated 3rd July 1921.

In this short little book (250 pages) the author has managed to condense an enormous amount of statistics and general information about India which we think will not be found available within the covers of a single volume elsewhere.

We congratulate him most heartily on his success in producing a most bright and readable little handbook on the India of to-day. A reference to the list of blue books and reports which he has given in the preface will show us what real literary skill he possesses in having been able to transmute their dull pages into something so eminently interesting and attractive.

We are familiar with a class of books bearing a similar title to that now before us, in which there is little or no attempt to grapple with actual facts, and the authors content themselves with mere slavish adulation of the British Raj. *This is not the case with Maulvi Idris Ahmad.* He gives the other point of view and by aid of figures and arguments he justifies his thesis. There is a very interesting chapter at the conclusion of the book on the so-called "Economic Drain" of India, in which he gathers up facts which have been detailed in earlier chapters, and the conclusions arrived at in regard to industries, trade, manufacture, and agriculture. He proves that India owes her prosperity to what has been put into the country in foreign capital and foreign skill and that, while these things have not been given gratis, in the long run India has benefited equally in the bargain.

He points out forcibly that Indian capital is not available as it should be for industrial enterprise.

The English style of the book is excellent and free from all the faults which often characterise English books written by Indians. The author finds place for interesting little anecdotes and fables to illustrate his points. The book has also been brought out in Urdu and we might suggest to any one who wishes to obtain a good command of literary Hindustani that he should obtain a copy in both English and in Urdu, and use them for this purpose. It is certainly a book which ought to be in every school and reference library throughout the country.

2. The Rangoon Times.

.....The writer does not shirk any subject and states his views straightforwardly and fearlessly. As an historical work alone apart from political significance, the book is commendable.

3. The United Provinces Journal.

.....It is an agreeable surprise that in these days of non-co-operation, a book of this title has run into three editions in less than two years. Those parents who are anxious to check the tendency of their boys towards the non-co-operation movement, cannot do better than place a copy of this book in their hands and persuade them to read it. This ruinous tendency of young men is mainly due to misrepresentations which have been dinned into their ears regarding the aims and objects of the British Government, and a perusal of the book will, we are confident, serve as the necessary corrective.

4. The Statesman, Calcutta.

.....In this book, which has already reached a third edition, Maulvi Idris Ahmad has brought together a mass of useful knowledge regarding India as it was, and India as it is.

5. The Englishman, Calcutta.

....."Britain in India: Have we benefited?" is a useful and timely book by Mr. Idris Ahmad, who takes as his dedication Macaulay's striking phrase: "Since childhood I have been seeing nothing but progress, and hearing of nothing but decay".....He shows the parlous condition of India at the advent of British rule, and then the benefits of education, roads, railways, canals, and industry as well as the reduction of taxes and the improvement of health and sanitation and the increase in wealth produced under British rule. It is a book which ought to be widely circulated.

6. The Madras Mail.

.....The author has made his work thoroughly well informed and accurate, basing it on numerous authoritative works on the subject. It is constructive in its aims throughout and will enable readers to form an intelligent judgment on the various aspects of British rule and its beneficent effect on the moral and material condition of India during the past 150 years.

PREFACE TO THE FOURTH EDITION.

In view of the demand, I have been asked by my friends to bring out a fourth edition of this book. The book so far has borne the title "The Blessings of British Rule in India," but according to a suggestion from a very respectable quarter, I have this time named it "Britain in India: Have we benefited?" in order to indicate more clearly the nature of its contents. As a further evidence of the popularity of the book, I was requested to permit the publication of translations in the Hindi, Gujrati, and Kanarese languages. The required permission was, of course, readily given.

I have this time added a new chapter at the end, which I hope will considerably add to the merit of the book. The new chapter is entitled "An important question answered." The question was actually put by a distinguished correspondent to a responsible British officer, who passed it on to me, and the additional chapter contains the required answer which was separately published some time ago, and was widely appreciated; the matter, however, being closely allied to the object of my book, I am incorporating it. A perusal of the speeches of the greatest of all the recognised leaders of this country will show that men who have devoted their whole lives to the cause of India's advancement have unanimously acknowledged that India has made vast progress under British rule and that the British system of education and administration has engendered and fostered the spirit of nationality and liberty among Indians. In

connection with the testimony of the eminent Indian leaders referred to in the new chapter of the book, it is important to note that the opinions quoted were expressed *before* the introduction of the Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms, which have carried India much further along the road to self-government than any of those genuine patriots could have hoped for.

SHAHJAHANPUR :

İDRIS AHMAD.

15th March, 1923.

PREFACE TO THE FIRST EDITION.

The tendency to ignore the present and to glorify the past is universal. Macaulay in his *History of England* calls attention to the delusion which leads men to "over-rate the happiness of preceding generations." "Since childhood," he remarks, "I have been seeing nothing but progress, and hearing of nothing but decay."

So far as these misleading notions of the past were merely discussions in private circles, and interested the aged and cheered their leisure hours, when they had nothing better to do, they were harmless. But it is to be deplored that our indiscriminate admiration of the past should persuade us to see nothing good in the present—nay—should lead us to believe that everything is going wrong. This state of our feelings is positively harmful to the progress of the country. It is difficult to cure a man who persists in believing himself to be hopelessly ill. The magnitude of the literature, pouring from all sides, full of bitter criticism levelled at the present Indian administration is simply surprising.

The result has been the antipathy, hatred, and bitter feelings, so much in evidence of late, against those who are entrusted with the work of administration.

I am concerned only with the student world which is the most impressionable portion of the population. The Indian parents seldom realise their responsibilities in respect of their children.

I affirm, on the strength of personal observation and experience, that the younger generation is being rendered discontented by this melancholy song being constantly dinned into their ears.

In this little book I have tried to show that the present state of affairs in our country is not so gloomy as is generally represented and that India, instead of losing anything, has gained immensely during the last 150 years. I am convinced that ignorance of a multitude of facts concerning the present administration of the country is at the root of the growing gloom that seems to be surrounding those classes whose knowledge of things in general entirely depends upon what they are *told*. It may prove a relief to many of them to know for themselves that the present is much more enjoyable than they are so often led to believe.

In compiling this book I have gleaned information from the following books, and I am grateful to the officers of the Government of India who provided me with the latest printed records of their departments, as well as to local officers who lent me books from their libraries. There is an immense amount of information in the books and official records which need wide publicity, but the scope of my book being limited I can only introduce a mere fraction of it.

If my readers notice that some facts are alluded to more than once, I beg to remind them that in education the maxim is "*Keep Repeating*."

Books Consulted.

1. "Peoples and Problems of India" by Sir T. W. Holderness.
2. "England's Work in India" by Sir W. W. Hunter.
3. Imperial Gazetteer of India (new edition), volumes I to IV.
4. Census Reports of India for the year 1911.
5. The Government of India Memorandum of some of the results of Indian Administration (1911).
6. "Aina Tarikh Numa" by Raja Shri Parshad of Benares.
7. The Land Revenue Policy of the Indian Government.
8. "The Citizen of India" by Sir W. Lee-Warner.
9. "India's Needs" by Dr. John Murdoch, LL.D.
10. "New India" by H. T. S. Cotton.

11. Financial Statement and Budget for 1919-20 published by the Government of India.

12. Finance and Revenue Accounts of the Government of India for 1917-18.

13. Annual Report of the Sanitary Commissioner with the Government of India for 1917.

14. Indian Sanitary Policy.

15. Progress of Education in India, 1912-1917, by the Hon'ble Mr. H. Sharp, C.S.I., C.I.E.

16. Indian Education in 1917-18.

17. Resolution of the Government of India on Local Self-Government.

18. Annual Report on the Posts and Telegraphs of India for 1917-18 by the Director-General of Posts and Telegraphs.

19. Progressive India by Mr. A. K. Ghose, Bar-at-Law.

20. England and India, by Messrs. Longmans Green and Co.

21. The Indian Year Book for 1919.

BIJNOR, U. P.

The 15th August 1919. }

M. IDRIS AHMAD.

PREFACE TO THE SECOND EDITION.

The original draft of this book was ready for the Press in August 1919, but dearth of paper stood in the way, and publication was delayed till December when paper came to hand. The book was printed in the first week of January 1920, and I began to receive a series of encouraging letters as soon as the book was published. The Vernacular Press of the country, too, showed its appreciation of the book by their favourable comments and by recommending its contents to the thoughtful notice and consideration of impartial critics. I quote below an extract from one of the leading and most popular Urdu papers of these provinces, which is believed to command the largest circulation, and which amply reviewed my book in its issue of 24th February, 1920:—

“This book places before its readers facts and figures in support of the steady progress India has made under the British rule,

which has greatly added to the merit of the book, and strengthened its claim for the attention of the reading public. In view of the fact that each of the important topics dealt with in the book required a separate volume for its proper discussion, the conciseness of the book looks like 'putting the ocean into a goblet.' Owing to the judicious selection of necessary statistics and figures, which obviously can be the result of many years' labour and research, the capable author has made the book a very valuable work of reference, being a useful abstract of so many unwieldy Directories... .. The British administration of India has been subject to adverse criticism for the past 40 years. This criticism has gradually assumed the shape of a violent tempest in the universal noise of which any countervoice can scarcely be heard. At such a juncture Maulvi Idris Ahmad's announcement that *'thou hast described all the vices of the wine, now listen to its virtues as well'* points to his courage which deserves all praise. The critics of the Government usually pick up and parade only such facts and incidents as can most conveniently be utilised in villifying the Government. Maulvi Idris Ahmad has used this same method, in favour of the Government and has tried to vanquish his opponents by their own weapons....."

The book was also welcomed in official circles as calculated to do a great deal of good in clearing up many misconceptions concerning the present administration of India. I was requested to publish the book in English and other Indian vernaculars, and more than one chairman of the District Boards asked my permission to publish it serially in the District Gazettes. Thus the book was welcomed equally by the Press, by the public, and by officials. The first edition ran out in less than two months, and the second edition is now being submitted to the public. The contents of the book need no important modification. It may, however, be pointed out here that the Reform Scheme referred to in Chapter XV has been sanctioned by H. M. the King-Emperor and will come into force from January 1921. Under this scheme the Indians have been allowed a very large share in the Government of the entire country, preparatory to the attainment of responsible government (or complete self-government). The

Governor-General's Executive Council, which only a few years ago had no Indian members, now counts three Indians among its members. The provinces have been given the largest measure of independence of the Government of India in legislative, administrative, and financial matters. The Legislative Councils have been enlarged and made more representative, having an overwhelming majority of elected non-official members, and these Councils henceforward will have ample opportunities of influencing the Government. From January 1921 British India will be divided into eight administrative Divisions or Governorships, *viz.*, (1) Bombay, (2) Madras, (3) Bengal, (4) the U. P., (5) the Punjab, (6) Bihar and Orissa, (7) Central Provinces, and (8) Assam. Each province will have at its head a Governor-in-Council. Each of these councils will consist of two members, one Englishman and one Indian. Associated with this Executive Council as part of the Government will be one or more Indian Ministers chosen from among the elected members of the Provincial Legislative Council. All the subjects of administration have now been divided into two classes: (1) The Transferred Subjects and (2) the Reserved Subjects. The former or the Transferred Subjects will consist of (a) Local Self-government; (b) Medical, Public Health, and Sanitation; (c) Education; (d) Public Works; (e) Agriculture; (f) Industries; (g) Civil Veterinary Department; (h) Fisheries; (i) Co-operative Societies; (j) Forests; (k) Excise; (l) Registration of Deeds and Documents; (m) Religious and Charitable Endowments; (n) other miscellaneous subjects, such as adulteration of food-stuffs, weights and measures, museums and Zoological Gardens. All these important subjects will be administered by the Governor with the advice of his Indian ministers, who will be responsible to the Legislative Council which would represent the people.

The Reserved Subjects will consist of (1) Land Revenue, (2) Canals and Irrigation, (3) Famine Relief, (4) Police, (5) Courts of Justice, (6) Jails, (7) Mines, (8) Posts, and (9) the Press. The Reserved Subjects will be administered by the Governor with the help of his Executive Council.

These liberal and far-reaching reforms are so advanced that if an astrologer or soothsayer had prophesied them fifteen years ago for the near future, he would certainly have been considered devoid of commonsense, and no one could have persuaded himself to believe him.

I. A.

15th March 1920.

PREFACE TO THE THIRD EDITION.

Almost all the printing presses in the country were lately busy in printing electoral rolls and voting papers, etc., required by the Government in connection with the forthcoming Indian Reforms. I, therefore, again had difficulties in the publication of the second edition of this book, which was also soon disposed of. The demand to publish the book in other Indian vernaculars grew pressing. I have, however, been persuaded to issue the third edition of this book in English, as a book in this language, now forming the *lingua franca* of India, is accessible to almost all my educated countrymen.

I have nothing to add to the book just now. I do not claim originality in respect of this book. Almost all the facts and figures which I have noted therein have been gleaned from authentic books or public records. I have, of course, added here and there the result of my own observation, experience, and personal enquiries made on the spot. I am placing all these facts in the form of a small book in order to have them within reach of the ordinary reader who has neither time nor inclination to read comprehensive books on administration. My countrymen, who have long been accustomed to peace and prosperity, now resemble the sons of a man of wealth and fortune, who think they are born to a life of ease and comfort, and seldom appreciate the anxiety and trouble which their *self-made* parent has undergone in providing those luxurious comforts for them.

I. A.

1st October 1920.

INTRODUCTION.

Not much is known in India about what is being said in other countries, but we do know that whenever four or five persons happen to sit^o together in clubs or gardens in this country, they invariably begin to talk of the *present hard times*. It is customary with us in India to attribute all virtues, happiness, peace, and prosperity to the *good old days*, while all evils, miseries sorrows, and sufferings are ascribed to the *present troublous times*. Everyone is inclined to over-rate the happiness and prosperity of the preceding generation, and sighs for the past, whereas the present time is denounced as the most inopportune and unfavourable to one and all. This tendency to depreciate the present at the expense of the past is by no means a new thing. It has existed in all parts of this country, and at all times. We know for certain, however, that every *past* period was once *present* time. The time which was current one hundred years before the present date, and is now regarded by us as the *past*, constituted the *present era* of this country at that time. We actually look down upon the *present*, but hold dear the state of affairs in the past century. As a matter of fact, however, our predecessors who lived in India one hundred^f years ago, as much deplored their own times then as we do ours now, and equally with us praised the times preceding them. It is, on the other hand, also certain that a hundred years after the current period, our *present* will be amalgamated with the past, and future generations will proudly mention it as a *golden era* compared to their own times. Keeping in view

this universal tendency of extolling the past and deploring the present, it is only fair to infer that many good points must have existed in every period, the value of which was never fully appreciated at the proper time, but the memory of which becomes sacred to us as soon as that period has passed. Obviously, if there had been no goodness, no merit, no virtue in each period, why should its memory have been preserved at all by succeeding generations? In view of this broad principle, it is our endeavour to point out that our own times are not really so hard and valueless as they are generally believed to be, and that there must certainly be a bright side also to our present, which we shall keenly miss hereafter. If, as is always the case, it is inevitable to cherish the memory of the bright points of the present time when it has passed, why should we not try to find out those bright points *now*, when the time is yet present with us, and is under our personal observations? If we are able to realise and appreciate any good points in the current period, then on the one hand we shall be able to enjoy them now before they are things of the past, and thus shall be able to add to the sum total of our happiness in life, while on the other hand we shall be able to save ourselves from the pain of unavailing regret in the future for having failed to realise these good points when they were before us. It is an obvious and undeniable fact that the world is progressing in every way. In nature the tender shoot, which originally sprouts like the point of a pin, gradually grows into a gigantic tree, and the suckling babe is gradually transformed into a stalwart man. This process of steady growth is traceable in the mineral, the

vegetable, and the animal kingdoms. An old man has never been known to return to the state of his childhood, nor have we ever heard of a big tree fading away into a tender shoot. It is moreover admitted by all that the people of the present day are better informed, are more advanced in knowledge, are more experienced, and are therefore wiser than their predecessors. How is it then possible that the time, in which these people live, should be worse than the preceding period? There must surely be something defective with our judgment of the present time, and that deficiency is due to lack of careful observation and thought on our part.

In writing this book our aim is to show that our *present* is decidedly more favourable to us than the age preceding this era, and we shall have fully realised our object, if only a few even from amongst the people of this country are drawn to realise the peculiar advantages of their own times. Instead of unreasonably sighing for the past, such persons should endeavour to realise that the present is much more enjoyable than they are so often led to believe.

BIJNOR : }
5th June 1919. }

I A.

CHAPTER I.

OUR INDIA.

India is not a country as countries are known in Europe. It is a great continent, Its immensity and diversities, consisting of many countries, the physical features and various climates of which present greater contrast than the countries of Europe. It is inhabited by peoples who differ widely from one another in race, in creed, in language, in manners and customs, and in the stages of material and moral growth. In order to have some idea of the vastness of India let us invite attention to the best known continent of Europe. The whole continent, excluding Russia, consists of 20 kingdoms of which Great Britain, France, Germany, Austria, Italy, and Spain are the larger states, and Norway, Sweden, Denmark, Portugal, Holland, Belgium, Switzerland, Luxemburg, Roumania, Bulgaria, Servia, Turkey, Greece, and Montenegro are the smaller ones

The area of India consists of 18,02,657 square miles, which exceeds the combined area of the above-named 20 kingdoms of Europe by 17,000 square miles. The areas of the Bombay and Madras Presidencies are each of them larger than that of Great Britain. Similarly Bengal is larger in extent than Germany, and the Province of Burma is larger than France. Our United Provinces of Agra and Oudh are equal to Italy in area.

The length and breadth of India are each about 2,000 miles. In so extensive a region there is room for many

climates. In Malabar there is the perpetual summer of the tropics, while in the Punjab there are extremes of heat and cold. For most of the year the plains of the Punjab are brown and arid; scorched in summer with fiery winds like the blast of a furnace, in winter they are clothed in a mantle of green crops, while the climate is delightfully cold. In Central India there are well defined seasons of heat and cold with no great extremes. Heat and moisture predominate in Bengal and make it one of the dampest and greenest countries of the earth. Still greater contrasts are found in the Himalayan region and the deserts of Sind. The Himalayas themselves exhibit every gradation of heat and cold, of luxuriance and sterility, of loveliness and desolation. Thus the contrast which India singly presents in this respect is greater than is traceable in all the European countries taken together.

The population of India exceeds $31\frac{1}{2}$ crores (31,51,56,396). The total population of the earth is estimated at 150 crores (1,500 millions) and India alone, therefore, accommodates one-fifth of the whole human race. The population of India exceeds the combined population of all the 20 kingdoms of Europe named above by $2\frac{1}{2}$ crores (25 millions). Our United Provinces of Agra and Oudh are larger than Great Britain in respect of population. Bengal is larger than Germany and the population of Madras equals that of France. The variety in the density of population in the different parts of India is equally surprising. The native state of Jaisalmere in western Rajputana has a population of under 5 persons

to the square mile, while in the Gangetic plains the average goes up to 800 per square mile.

The followers of almost all the religions of the world—Buddhists, Christians, Jews, Hindus, Mahomedans, Jains, Parsis, Mahrattas, and Sikhs—are found in India. There are countless divisions and sub-divisions of these religions, some of which solely belong to India.

The Indians speak Burmese, Bengali, Urya, Hindi, Punjabi, Gujrati, Mahratti, Sindhi, Asami, Kashmiri, Nepali, Pashtoo, Urdu, Tamil, Kanari, Malayalam, Gondi, Telugu, and many other languages. Thirty to 40 distinct languages have been enumerated by experts, while the number of dialects comes to 145.

If a tourist should visit all the countries of Europe, he will nowhere find so many different nationalities exhibiting extraordinary variety in respect of race, language, creed, colour and appearance, manners and customs, and the various stages of material and moral growth. As a matter of fact, a native of Calcutta, Bombay, or Madras is as much a foreigner in Delhi or Peshawar as an Englishman is a foreigner in Berlin or Paris. Similarly the languages of Southern India are as unintelligible in Delhi or Lahore as they would be in London. On account of the large intervening mountains, rivers, and deserts, the peoples of India are completely isolated from each other so much so that no similarity or common features are now traceable amongst them. They are perfect strangers to one another. As has already

Religion.

Languages.

Diversity in population.

been pointed out the climatic conditions greatly vary in the different parts of India, the effect of which only accentuates the differences. As regards the different stages of material and moral growth, the Parsis in India may be favourably compared with many of the most civilised and advanced nations of Europe, while the Bhils, Gonds, Minas, Haburas, Nagas, Kauls, Santhals, Bhatyas, and others of the same type who are mostly the aborigines or original inhabitants of India, may still be regarded as the best surviving specimens of the ancient world. The advanced races which came to India from Central Asia, through the north-west mountain passes, did not live on good terms with the original inhabitants of India whom they drove to the hills and forests while they settled themselves in the green and prosperous river valleys.

The majority of the Indian population—about two-thirds—consists of Hindus who may

Caste.

erroneously be looked upon by out-

siders as one nation. But as a matter of fact being subject to the laws of caste they are broken up into an infinite number of mutually exclusive aggregates, the members of which are forbidden by the inexorable social law to marry outside the group to which they themselves belong. The caste system has been extended until there are 2,500 main divisions. The people are shut up in water-tight compartments, and it is not practicable for any Hindu to pass from one to another. Of the so-called Hindu population, about six crores (60 millions) constitute the depressed classes or the untouchables, who are supposed to belong to no creed or caste. They are despised and generally regarded as contemp-

tible. The distinction of caste exists and is respected as much to-day as thousands of years ago. The most important aspect of the caste system is the inviolable prohibition of intermarriages among the different castes. As a matter of fact it is as impossible to-day for men belonging to different castes to intermarry as it was in the golden age of Rama and Sita. The marriage aspect of the caste system is of greater importance and is more fundamental, because it is this aspect and this aspect alone which has militated against the growth of nationality in India. Were it not for the regulations relating to the marriage, the restrictions regarding food and drink would have proved quite insufficient to maintain the institution, as intermarriage must have bridged over the gulf caused by caste and radically changed the social and domestic relations of the various Indian communities, the members of which should have been seen eating and drinking together. But the marriage laws prevented any such improved relations—nor there is any likelihood or prospect of any improvement in this connection. Whatever might have been said to the contrary in England or elsewhere, the solid fact remains and may easily be verified on the spot, that the tendency to confine intermarriage to the narrowest circle within the caste was never stronger and that infant marriage and perpetual widowhood are usages by no means on the decline.

All the recognised races of Europe have grown up from a process of "crossing" which has fused a number of different tribal types into a more or less definable national type. The Celts, the Jutes, the Angles,

Existence of caste
repugnant to the
growth of nationality.

the Saxons, the Danes, and the Normans have all combined into the present united English nation. But under the influence of the inexorable laws of caste there is absolutely no possibility of the mixing of the various Indian races, and all these old races are still distinctly recognisable at sight in every part of the country.

In Southern India, where Brahmanism has its stronghold, an extremely elaborate code of pollution exists. There are castes whose members defile a Brahmin at a distance of 24 or 36 or even 64 feet as the case may be. They carry an atmosphere of impurity about them. They may not enter a Hindu temple of the humblest sort, or pass through the high caste quarter of the village. When they see a Brahmin they must leave the road or announce their approach by a special cry like lepers in the middle ages.

To illustrate the diversity of Indian manners and customs, let us point only to the innumerable differences in their dress. We are told that in the early days of British rule in India, samples of all the head-dresses used in the different parts of India were sent to England. These samples alone occupied a room in the museum in which they were displayed, and the political observers then must have inferred from these varieties that a country, the divergent tendencies of the people of which were represented by the samples of so many head-dresses, naturally demanded a strong foreign government. In no other part of the world could be found a population broken into so many mutually exclusive and repugnant groups. So much for the internal subdivisions of the Hindus.

Apart from the Hindus, the Mahomedans form by far the largest majority of the remaining population of India. Lord Morley only uttered the bare truth when he spoke in the House of Lords on the second reading of the Indian Council Bill:—

- “The difference between Mahomedanism and Hinduism is not a mere difference of articles of religious faith or dogma. It is difference in life, in tradition, in history, in all the social things, as well as articles of belief that constitute a community.”

Notwithstanding all the long talk of Hindu and Mahomedan unity, there are towns and districts where the two religions face each other like armies in a battlefield, where the slightest provocation given by one side or the other will bring on furious riots and bloodshed.

It is universal custom that when one of the two

It is equality that leads to friction. parties is overwhelmingly stronger than the other, friction and dispute

seldom occur between the two. Quarrels ensue only when two or more mutually exclusive groups or parties, anxious to preserve their respective individuality, grow equally strong, and claim equal rights and privileges. In ancient India when the Hindus governed the country, the high caste people were in ascendance, and there was, therefore, absolutely no danger of an outbreak or breach of the peace by the people of the inferior caste. When the Mahomedans rose to power they, too, in the same way had no reason to be afraid of their neighbouring communities. But wealth and

power are fleeting shadows, and one individual nation has never perpetually ruled anywhere. When the inevitable change of rulers came to pass, it was quite natural that in this extraordinarily extensive country, inhabited by people with no common bond of blood, language, creed or caste to hold them together, each class should have gradually developed the sense of self-realisation, which invariably leads everyone to a hankering after equality of rights and privileges. This state of affairs was sure to result in bloody quarrels. Circumstances, therefore, demanded the advent of a very strong and powerful government in the country which could effectually control and keep in order all the conflicting forces and jarring elements of a diverse population, and maintain the peace of the country.

The English nation was destined to creditably perform this special function of keeping peace of India, and the greatest blessing of the British rule in India, therefore, is that it has enabled the various classes and communities, weak and strong, to live side by side as friendly neighbours, none ever venturing to oppress or tyrannise over the weaker party.

CHAPTER II.

WHY DOES FOREIGN RULE EXIST IN INDIA.

Undoubtedly "National Government" is the best form of government which a country can have. When the rulers and the ruled are members of one and the same nation the aims and object of both are naturally common; the

gain of the one is necessarily the gain of the other; their interests are identical and both have the same ideal in view. This unity of purpose naturally leads to perfect harmony and whole-hearted co-operation between the rulers and the ruled, which is so conducive to the peace and prosperity of their country. But let us first consider what constitutes nationality, and how a nation is formed.

Race simply means "breed," and is determined by

What constitutes nationality.

both physical and mental characteristics, which are easy enough to recognise. If we happen to meet a Chinaman, an Englishman, a Negro, a Parsi, an Afghan, and an Arab, we can at once *see* the difference. Nationality is a sub-division of race, and is brought about by various factors:—

- (1) a common corporate tradition—a conscious living memory of past achievements together with common hopes and aspirations,
- (2) the bond of common language,
- (3) community of religion,
- (4) community of customs,
- (5) community of ideal, and
- (6) a communal self-consciousness and desire for self-realisation, *i.e.*, a desire to become a nation.

Usually all these factors are at work, but occasionally one or two of these may be missing.

Nationality with an added factor "self-government"

What is a nation? or at least a government which is accepted whole-heartedly by the

nationality constitutes a "nation." A nation, therefore,

includes the idea of government or sovereignty. For instance, when we refer to the English nation, the French nation, the German nation, the fact of their ruling over their respective countries is at once recalled to mind, we cannot think of any of these people divested of their power and rule. The Jews, on the other hand, form a religious community, and possess some features of nationality, but they do not properly constitute a nation by themselves, because as a nation they do not rule over any country. Keeping the remarks in view, one can easily understand what we mean when we say that England is ruled by the English nation, France by the French, and Germany by the Germans, and that the English would never like to be ruled over by the French, and that the French would prefer their extinction to the German rule.

The whole continent of Europe was never governed by one single nation, nor any such National Government is ever possible in that continent. The Germans recently tried their utmost to bring the whole of Europe under their national influence, but could not succeed. Similar efforts on the part of the Emperor Napoleon, one hundred years ago, resulted in absolute failure,

Whole of Europe
cannot have one Na-
tional Government.

It is as impossible to blend several nationalities together as it is impossible to mix water and oil. India is not only larger than Europe (excluding Russia) in area and population, but the various groups of the Indian population present greater contrast in respect of race, language, traditions, creed, caste and customs, than is found in any other country or continent.

Under the circumstances it is very difficult to understand how there can exist one

The words nationality and nation improperly used in India.

nation, or one national assembly, or one national movement, or one

National Government in India. It is often very easy to talk of things, but we can realise the actual difficulties in our way only when we sufficiently think over them. It may be possible that all the time-honoured differences of language, of castes, of creed, of customs, of traditions, and of ideals should disappear some day, from among the various communities living in India, and all of them may actually be united into one homogeneous nation. But this is as pious a hope as that of a philosopher who should be waiting for the amalgamation of all the European nations, the English, the French, the Germans, the Spaniards, the Portuguese, the Italians, the Dutch, the Russians, the Greeks, the Turks, and many others into one single nation. But for the present, under the existing environments, there is absolutely no likelihood of the establishment of a National Government in a continent such as India, with its population broken up into so many mutually exclusive groups and exhibiting such an extraordinary variety of races, languages, castes and creeds, manners and customs. Any so-called National Government in this country must necessarily be the government of some particular class or community out of so many, and it is absurd to expect that all the various communities living in India should look upon any particular individual, or the majority of any class or community in a Council as their own national government.

The rule of the original inhabitants of India, known
 as the aborigines—in this country,
 Indians proper never ruled India. is nowhere traceable in History.

India has always been subject to foreign invasions from the north-west. The historical accounts of the arrival and settlement of the Aryan races, which have reached us, are simply a record of the subjugation of the native Indian races—how the foreigners either reduced the Indians proper into slavery or drove them to hills and forests, and how they gradually settled themselves in the fertile river valleys. Ever since those days the process of foreign invasions has continued unbroken to the present times. It is only foreigners who came to this country from time to time and established their rule here. All the different races that have ever ruled India were foreign to India and came here as conquerors.

They were as much foreigners from the Indian's point of view, as the English are,
 The English are not the only foreigners in India. and, therefore, the epithet of *foreigners* is not peculiar only to the English, but is equally applicable to the Hindus and Mahomedans. The difference is only that of time—some came and occupied the country earlier, others did the same thing later.

The test of efficiency of the government of a country, whether it be national or foreign,
 The standard of efficiency of a government. is whether it does or does not try for the advancement and prosperity of the people over which it rules, and whether those people have or have not their confidence in it.

That the condition of our country and its peoples is

Conditions in India
now decidedly better.

decidedly improving, and is much better than it was at the advent of British rule, is admitted by all. The rate of progress might have been slow but none can gainsay the broad fact that the British rule has had highly beneficent effect on the moral and material conditions of India during the past 150 years. No preceding Indian Government has ever shown such patience, circumspection, anxiety to acquaint itself with the true state of affairs, promptitude to remove grievances, respect for Indian feelings and sentiment, and solicitude for the welfare of the people, as the British Government has invariably been showing. As regards public esteem, the very existence of the British rule in such a vast country is the most obvious testimony of the people's confidence in it.

Is it possible for a handful of British officers to

Existence of the
British rule in India
by itself a proof of
the people's
confidence.

peacefully govern 320 million people by dint of the sword? Certainly not. From the very beginning British rule was welcomed by the Indian people who co-operated willingly in promoting its dominions, and it is to this day accepted by the peoples and Princes of India as the best Government they know of. If the Indians had disliked the English, England by itself could not have secured the possession of India, nay, if the Indians had not cordially supported British rule, its continuance would have been simply impossible. During the recent great European war, if the peoples and Princes of India had not faithfully stood by the side of Great Britain, a revolution in the government of this country must have taken place

long ago. Only the other day, the new Amir of Afghanistan, depending upon the unfounded statements of certain habitual mischief-mongers, believed that general dissatisfaction with the British rule actually prevailed amongst the Indians, and began preparations of an invasion. But fortunately he was soon undeceived, and within a few weeks he was able properly to gauge the true Indian feelings when he found that the Hindus and Mahomedans, individuals and associations, the ignorant and the educated, the peoples and the Princes, all were ready to spill their blood in order to protect and preserve the British rule in India.

It must be kept in mind that about one-third of the area of India with a population of 80 millions is controlled by Indian rulers, who are independent of British influence in the internal administration of their States.

I have had opportunities of living in four important Indian States. In one of these I received my education, and in the other three States I held responsible offices for 12 years, and I have found that the inhabitants of the Indian States distinctly appreciated the liberty and privileges enjoyed by the neighbouring British subjects. The subjects of these Indian rulers, and all the members of the ruling family invariably consider it safer, and therefore prefer, to acquire property in British territory, and deposit their cash in the Banks situated there. Of the agreements concluded between an Indian ruler and any of his family members, only those are generally believed reliable and abiding as are guaranteed or countersigned by some British officer.

Appreciation of
British rule by in-
habitants of the
Indian States.

Soon after the Mutiny of 1857, large portions of British territory were ceded to

Disappointment of British subjects at the transfer of their land to Indian States.

Indian rulers as a reward for their loyal services. I have seen the

official record of the series of com-

plaints lodged in the British Court by the disappointed zamindars of British territory which was being made over to an Indian State as a reward for its loyalty during the Mutiny. They strongly represented their utter disappointment on their being deprived of the privileges of a British subject, and keenly resented the transfer of their landed property to an Indian State. The British Government eventually had to have a formal agreement executed by this Indian Ruler promising to respect all the rights of these zamindars which they enjoyed as British subjects, and the British Government undertook to see that those rights were actually respected.

It is moreover the unanimously declared opinion of all the popular Indian leaders

Unanimous verdict of all the prominent Indian leaders.

that India's connection with Great Britain is essential to the moral and

material development of the country, and that whatever further rights and privileges they sought and demanded, they wanted to have them under the ægis of the British Crown.

The British Empire, as has been proved in the recent great European war, is the

British Empire is the strongest.

greatest, the strongest, and the wealthiest Empire now existing.

The total area of the earth is calculated a little above 55 million square miles (55,600,000) and the whole population of the globe is estimated at 1,520 millions.

Out of this 12 million square miles of the area and more than 400 millions of the population belong to the British Empire, that is to say, that our King-Emperor rules over one-fifth of the total area and one-fourth of the total population of the earth. We have already pointed out that the Indians proper (the aborigines) have never ruled over the country of their birth, and that foreign invaders like the Aryans, Mahomedans, and the English have one after another conquered and governed the country, and that the very limited number of British officers in India, and the loyalty of the Indians towards their present rulers, is conclusive evidence of public confidence in the British rule, and that even the few extremist leaders do not favour the severance of India's connection with Great Britain. Then again we find that in respect of extent, wealth, and power, the English nation is the greatest of all nations, and, therefore, in a better position to protect and preserve the peace of our country ; there is, under the circumstances, absolutely no reason that we should not appreciate or should under-rate the distinctive features of the British rule in India, simply because the English are not the inhabitants of this country. The fact is that the universal confidence which the English have been able to command in our country entitles them to our respect, and the existence of their peaceful rule in such a vast continent points to their ruling capacity.

It will not be out of place to quote below a few extracts from the speech of Colonel Roosevelt, former President of the American Republic, delivered in January 1909, at Washington, to

Impartial testimony
of a distinguished
American Adminis-
trator.

show what opinion one of the greatest statesmen held with regard to England's work in India :—

“In India we encounter the most colossal example, history affords, of the successful administration, by men of European blood, of a thickly populated region in another continent. It is the greatest feat of the kind that has been performed since the break up of the Roman Empire. Indeed it is the greater feat than was performed under the Roman Empire. Unquestionably mistakes have been made; it would indicate qualities literally superhuman if so gigantic a task had been accomplished without mistakes. It is easy enough to point out shortcomings, but the fact remains that the successful administration of the Indian Empire by the English has been one of the most notable and the most admirable achievements of the white race during the past two centuries. On the whole it has been for the immeasurable benefit of the nations of India themselves.....” There has been a far more resolute effort to secure fair treatment for the humble and oppressed during the days of English rule in India than during any other period of recorded Indian history. England does not draw a penny from India for English purposes; she spends for India the revenues raised in India, and they are spent for the benefit of the Indians themselves.

“Undoubtedly India is a less pleasant place than formerly for the heads of tyrannical states. There is now little or no room in it for successful freebooter chieftains, for the despots who lived in gorgeous splendour while under their cruel rule the immense mass of their countrymen festered in sodden misery.

But the mass of the people has been and are far better off than ever before, and far better off than they would now be if English control were now withdrawn from India. If English control were now withdrawn from India, the whole peninsula would become a chaos of bloodshed and violence."

It is often said in favour of the former conquerors of India that those foreigners on arrival in India settled themselves here and made India their home, but that the English have not done so and still persist in maintaining their relations with England. That is the distinction, they say, between the former conquerors and the English which has led to the great financial drain so much resented by the Indians. During the rule of the former conquerors, it is said, the wealth of the country remained in it and did not flow outside. Now considerable portion of India's wealth, however, goes to England to the loss of India—we shall in the following chapter point out the reasons why the English did not make India their permanent home, and that the amount which India annually contributes to England, brings back, in return, such lasting benefits as never accrued to India during the time of any of its former rulers.

CHAPTER III.

WHY DID THE ENGLISH NOT MAKE INDIA THEIR HOME
LIKE THE ARYANS AND THE MAHOMEDANS ?

From the early days the Indians began to like the Englishmen for their fair dealings, their uprightness,

their gentlemanly behaviour, and faithful observance of their word and agreements. These qualities secured for the Englishmen implicit confidence of the Indian peoples who welcomed British rule and willingly assisted in its establishment throughout the country.

The Englishmen, however, partly from a careful

The fertility of the study of past history, and partly
country deterrent of from their personal observation
exertion. and experience on the spot, found

that India was unusually fertile and that its fertility was deterrent of all exertion, and further discovered that its soft and languid climate sapped the energies and weakened the combative instincts of the inhabitants. They knew as a fact that the different races and tribes which came and conquered India one after the other invariably fell victims to its climatic influences. The fertility, prosperity, and wealth of the country continued to attract foreign invaders and, therefore, the series of foreign invasions continued unbroken for thousands of years. Every new band of invaders was acclimated in due course, paving the way for a fresh invasion. The once warlike Mahomedans and the brave Hindus proved equally powerless to resist Nadir Shah's invasion, in 1739. Having once discovered this historical secret, no sane Englishman could think of permanently settling in this country. The English people considering their permanent residence in India detrimental to their national interests naturally decided once for all that they could not make India their home like the former invaders.

The decision is based not on any antipathy to Indians, but on prudence and forethought. In the light of past experience the English considered it essential to maintain relations with

Non-settlement of the English in India due simply to prudence.

their mother country in order to preserve their energy and national vigour. In accordance with this scheme fresh batches of young Englishmen, educated and trained in their best schools, colleges and industrial institutions, and equipped with the most up-to-date knowledge of men and things continue to come to India renovating the administrative machinery of the country, both civil and military. For the same reason the appointment of officers to the highest and most responsible posts is subject to time limits. They are appointed only for a few years and are sent back to England on the completion of the prescribed term of their office. In case an English officer already serving in India is appointed to some high office, it is almost an established practice for him to proceed to England on leave where he stays for several months before returning to India to take charge of his more onerous duties. In the same way British military officers and soldiers are not allowed to remain permanently in India, but are sent back to England from time to time to be replaced by fresh and more vigorous officers and men. The British statesmen look upon this constant interchange and supply of fresh members of Indian Civil and Military Services as an unavoidable necessity for the preservation of their national life and character, and we Indians have, therefore, absolutely no reason to demur at this practice.

It must, indeed, be a very hard task for the residents of a cold country to be

It is hard to serve
in foreign lands.

required to serve in a hot climate,
thousands of miles away from their

home and away from their dear and near relatives, even though they should so work for personal gain. The density of population in India varies from 5 to 800 persons per square mile. Three-fourths of the population of the country lives entirely on agriculture, and in many thickly populated regions the produce of the land can scarcely support the growing population. Poverty is, therefore, inevitable in such tracts. Experts are of opinion that if the population of these densely populated tracts emigrates, to thinly populated regions, the area under cultivation will certainly increase and considerably add to the prosperity of the people. Not to speak of going to foreign lands, my countrymen cannot be induced to leave their own village in order to settle in a neighbouring region with the view of serving the best interests of their own and of their country.

In consequence of the recent great European war, Mesopotamia and Palestine are now under the British sphere of influence. Indians are invited to serve at these places and in British Africa on a short term agreement, on double and treble their present salaries with additional allowances, and far brighter prospects. But all these concessions and prospects of personal gain have failed to attract sufficient candidates, although lucrative offers are daily advertised in newspapers. Mesopotamia and Palestine are adjacent to our country and so nearer our home. The climatic conditions there are almost similar to ours, but no amount of prospective

income can induce us to leave our kith and kin. If anyone happens to accept appointment in the newly-acquired regions, his whole family goes into mourning when he proceeds on his lucrative journey. Keeping these facts in view we ought to search our own hearts in this respect, before taunting Englishmen for coming to our country simply to acquire wealth. We ought to learn the manly habit of the Englishmen of earning their livelihood in distant lands under climatic strain, instead of feeling offended on their gathering the hard-earned fruits of their labour.

CHAPTER IV.

THE CONDITION OF INDIA AT THE ADVENT OF THE BRITISH RULE.

We Indians have surpassed all other nations in our worship of antiquity and our undue and exaggerated veneration for the past. We are never tired of referring again and again, in the Press and on the platform, to that *glorious antiquity* and to the *golden age*, when happiness and prosperity reigned all over India, when the country was thickly populated and all the peoples were happy, when India was governed by the Indians, taxes were unknown, and the country was free from epidemics and famines, when glorious kings and most powerful Rajas and Maharajas ruled from the Himalayas to Ceylon, under whose munificent patronage arts and sciences of every description flourished and the peoples enjoyed the greatest liberty of action and freedom of speech. We neither have

The ancient golden
age.

any regular record of these glorious times, nor it is our object to compare the present administration of the country with that golden age. India was governed by the Mahomedans for several centuries and we have detailed historical records of their period which show that with the exception of a few kings the whole country was never effectually controlled by one central government. But any mention of the palmy days of the Mahomedan era is equally irrelevant to our topic. The period which we have in view is the one just preceding the advent of the British rule in India, *i.e.*, from about the middle of the 17th century.

In those days invasion and inroads were yearly events along the whole frontier of India. The Himalayan mountains, instead of serving as a northern wall to shut out aggressors, formed a line of fastnesses from which the hill races poured down upon the plains. For 1,500 miles along their base stretched a thick belt of territory which no one dared to cultivate. This silent border-land varied from 20 to 50 miles in breadth, and embraced a total area of 30 to 40 thousands of square miles that yielded no food to men, but teemed with wild beasts, which nightly sallied forth to ravage the herds and hamlets in the open country beyond. Lions, tigers, wolves, bears, wild elephants made inroads on neighbouring villages, ruined the cattle and destroyed human life beyond all estimate.

Such a border-land seemed to the miserable villagers on the plains to be the best possible frontier, for its dense jungles served as some sort of barrier against the invasions of the wild Himalayan races and it bred

The Himalayan wild waste 1,500 miles long teeming with wild beasts.

deadly fevers which made havoc of armies that attempted a passage through it.

The great mountain wall round Northern India and the impassable belt of wild All frontiers unsafe. waste both failed, till the British came upon the scene, to afford any security to the Indian races. The sea which forms the natural defence of the rest of the country was in like manner only a source of new dangers. On the Bay of Bengal, the pirates from the Burmese coast sailed up the great rivers, burning the villages, and massacring or carrying off into slavery the inhabitants. On the other side of the peninsula in the Indian ocean, piracy was conducted on a grander scale. Wealthy rajas kept up luxurious courts upon the extortions which their pirate fleets levied from trading vessels and from the villages along the coast. The truth is that the natural defences of India, the mountains and the sea, were in the last century equally powerless to protect the Indian races.

In the interior of the country also, villages were swept clean by bandits, and districts Mail runners' bells. were stripped of inhabitants and laid waste by famines. The quick growing jungle spread over the deserted land and the fierce beasts of the tropics were the undisputed lords of fertile tracts. The official records frequently speak of the mail bag being carried off by tigers, and the custom of the mail runners carrying bells to scare away the wild beasts survives to our own day.

The average loss of life by wild beasts in the 19th century exceeded 1,50,000 Annual deaths from wild beasts. a year.

In the absence of a strong Central Government the country was divided into many small unstable kingdoms, jealous of each other, the rise and fall of which occasioned constant scenes of mur-

Lack of strong
Central Government,
rivalry of small king-
doms

der and bloodshed all over the country. Instead of combining their respective forces to show a united front to the foreign invader, the common foe of all of them, they fell victims to envy, jealousy, and ambition, and constantly struggled for supremacy. Principalities rose and fell, and the internal dissensions and civil wars had brought about ruin and desolation everywhere. Hindu fought with Hindu; Mahomedan with Mahomedan, and both with one another. The whole country from end to end was over-run by robbers and plunderers. Life and property was safe nowhere.

The highlands which border on the Western Coast of India poured forth a formidable race which was long the terror of every native power. Every corner of

The Mahrattas and
the Pindaras.

this vast country learned to tremble at the mighty name of the Mahrattas. Every region that was not already subjugated to their influence was wasted by their incursions. Wherever their kettle-drums were heard, the peasant threw his bag of rice on his shoulder, hid his small savings in his girdle and fled with his wife and children to the mountain or the jungle. Tanks are pointed out in Bengal into which women threw themselves to escape dishonour. The name of the moat known to the present day as the "Mahratta Ditch" constructed by the English round Calcutta in 1751 to protect it from the Mahratta inroads, still reminds us of their past depredations.

The Pindara freebooters on the other hand, in bands of 20 to 30 thousands over-ran the country, burning and plundering every village and town that came in their way, leaving behind misery and desolation.

In all countries there are thieves, but the peculiarity of India is that in the last century
 Predatory castes. it had over a hundred hereditary robber castes, just as there were soldier castes and writer castes, and that men went out to prey upon the property of their fellows—and if need be on their lives—with strict religious observances, strong in the belief that they were only fulfilling their destiny and doing good service to the deity whom they adored. They gloried in their exploits as sportsmen do, and talked over a successful gang-robbery with its attendant murders, as European gentlemen talk over their tiger hunts. Besides these there were also robberies committed by men not born and bred to the profession.

After the usual sacrifices, gangs set out in parties of thirty or forty, disguised as travellers or pilgrims. Their principal weapon was the spear. The head was carried about concealed on their persons, the handles served as walking sticks. Scouts or confederates informed them where there was a rich man's house. When all arrangements had been made, they advanced to the attack.

It was always a nocturnal surprise. With flaming torches and spears glittering in the broad light, they came suddenly on the sleeping inhabitants of the doomed house, and either roused them with their noise or pricked them up with the points of their weapons. It often happened that the luckless inhabitants, confused,

bewildered, panic struck, like people under the influence of a fearful dream, did all they were directed to do—pointed out the places where their wealth was hidden, and went like sheep to the slaughter. If the dacoits thought that all the property was not given up, torture was applied. Ear-rings were sometimes torn away, hands and feet were chopped off as the easiest mode of removing the ornaments. The zamindar or landed proprietor and the headman of the village, instead of aiding in their capture, harboured the robbers and shared in their spoil.

Thuggism was another peculiar Indian institution.

The Thugs.

The thugs were professional murderers who worshipped the goddess Kali. They existed in large numbers in many parts of India for more than 2,000 years. Divine sanction was claimed for their horrible trade. It was said that the goddess gave their ancestors waist-bands with which to destroy first demons and then men, by strangulation. "I am Thug of the royal records" said one of these murderers. "I and my fathers have been thugs for twenty generations." The thugs, for the most part, belonged to particular villages, where they left their wives and children; and they outwardly followed some peaceable calling. They cultivated the fields, rented a few acres of land, or employed labouring men to work under them. A thug went out on his dreadful journey, and everyone in the village knew the cause of his departure. A certain amount of hush money was paid to the zamindar or headman, and the police officials, in the same manner, were bribed into silence. Before going on their bloody expeditions, thugs made offer-

ings to the goddess, and carefully attended to the omens, through which they supposed that she made known her wishes. They assumed many different disguises, and played many different parts. There was nothing to distinguish them from ordinary travellers. A party of them would accost a wayfarer going homewards from a journey. Cheerful talk and song would win his heart, and he would tell them freely of his private affairs, of his wife and children, he was going to meet after long years of absence, toil and suffering. Watching a favourable opportunity on the skirts of some jungle, one of the thugs would throw his turban cloth round the neck of their victim. Another seizing the other end of the cloth would draw it tightly round, while a third would seize the man by legs and throw him on the ground. There could be no resistance. The work was quickly done. The body was then stripped, the property secured, and very soon the corpse was buried. The thugs would afterwards kindle a fire beside the grave, and feast as heartily, sing as merrily, and sleep as soundly, as if they had committed an act of the greatest merit. No compunction visited the thugs. An English Officer asked one of them, "Did you never feel pity for the old men and young children whom you murdered while they were sitting quietly by you?" "Never" was the answer.

To what extent the country was insecure may be gathered from the following facts:

Anarchy in the country—Life and property unsafe.

The Council of Calcutta reported in 1772 that organised gangs of robbers were burning, plundering, and ravaging the interior districts of Bengal in hordes of

50,000 men. A few nights ago, says a Calcutta newspaper of 1780, four armed men entered the house of a man, near Chowringhee, the principal street, and carried off his daughter. No native, says the same paper, ever ventured out after dusk with a good shawl on, and it was the invariable practice, even in English mansions in Calcutta, for the porter to lock the outer door at the commencement of each meal, and not to open it again till the butler brought him word that the plate was safely shut up in its strong box. Lawlessness breeds lawlessness, and the miserable persons, stripped of their little hoards were forced to become plunderers in their turn. Even landlords and influential villagers sheltered robbers on their estates, levied black-mail from the surrounding villages as the price of immunity from depredations and shared in the pillage of such as would not come to terms. Apart from the strongly garrison forts and fortresses at the frontier, the existence of fortified villages and walled towns pointed to the state of anarchy that prevailed in the country.

Railways and metalled roads were unknown, and no arrangement existed for the protection and safety of travellers. Individual travelling was dangerous. Under the circumstances no one ever ventured to travel alone. Howsoever pressing was the need to go from one place to another, an intending traveller had to wait till there were many persons bound to the same place or at least proceeding in the same direction. Thus they ventured on a long journey only in the form of a caravan and even then they were always afraid of an attack by armed marauders.

Official high-handedness knew no bounds. About the year 1660, the Governor of High-handedness of officers, Ahmadabad had invited the principal directors of the English and Dutch trades to an entertainment, of which, as usual, displays of dancing girls were among the chief features. One party having danced themselves out, another was sent for, but for some reason they refused to come. They were then forcibly dragged into the presence of the Governor. He listened to their excuse, laughed at it, but immediately commanded a party of his guards to strike off their heads. They begged their lives with horrid cries and lamentations ; but he would be obeyed, and caused the execution to be done in the room before all the company. Not one then present, dared to make the least intercession for those wretches who were eight in number. The strangers were startled at the horror of the spectacle and inhumanity of the action, which the Governor taking notice of, fell a laughing, and asked them what they were so much startled at. Anyone who incurred the displeasure of these provincial governors had similar fate. The doomed person was either beheaded, crushed to death by an elephant, or blown away from a gun.

As has already been pointed out, successive hordes of invaders have poured into India through the Himalayan passes, and in the last century the process was still going on. Each set of newcomers plundered and massacred without mercy and without restraint. In the middle of the last century six such inroads on a great scale took place in 23 years. The first was led

Invasions from the North-West,

by Nadir Shah in 1739, who, while staying in Delhi ordered his soldiers one morning to slaughter the inhabitants, without regard to age or sex, in every street and avenue. From sunrise to midday the sabre raged, and by that time no less than one hundred thousand men, women and children were hacked to pieces in the streets of the royal city of India. Pages of Indian History are full of most appalling tales of similar bloodshed and wanton cruelty ever inflicted on the human race.

This state of things could not be permitted under the British rule, and the first business of the English was to secure India from foreign invasions. The sea robbers were effectually dealt with, rendering Indian borders absolutely safe.

A century of British rule has not only secured the Indian frontiers from invaders, but has freed the interior of India from robbers and plunderers. The English in India recognised the fact that they had a special class of crimes to deal with and they framed a special department of Criminal Law to put those crimes down. It has effectively done its work. Almost throughout British India the ancient special crimes have been extirpated, and the old criminal tribes now find it more profitable to be on the side of law than against it, and are betaking themselves to the more commonplace, callings of small husbandmen and petty pilferers.

Law is now predominant everywhere. There is no longer any power in the State that can order, under the influence of a gust of passion or a spasm of caprice

India now secure
from foreign invasion.

Suppression of Thugi
and dacoity.

Government by Law
has been established.

the meanest labourer to be trampled to death by elephants or disembowelled with a sharp knife. The poorest cooly is entitled to all the solemn formalities of a judicial trial, and the punishment of death, by whomsoever administered and on whomsoever inflicted, without express decree of the law, is a murder for which the highest functionary is as much accountable as a sweeper would be for the assassination of the Governor-General in Durbar.

A very large portion of the broad belt of the wild waste along the northern frontier has been reclaimed. The security given by a century of the British rule in these frontier districts has already brought thousands of square miles under the plough, growing each year millions upon millions sterling worth of produce. While the natives of India have pushed their rice cultivation towards the foot of the mountains, English capitalists have dotted their slopes with tea plantation which are worked by Indian labour and now supply all the tea consumed by the Great Britain.

The first and foremost duty of a good government is the protection of the life and property of her people, and no one can gainsay the fact that perfect peace now prevails throughout the country, that consequently export and import trade of India has very considerably increased, that the population of India is increasing at the rate of two millions every year, that life and property is now absolutely safe, and that a single individual with all his valuables now passes to and fro without danger or hindrance, the poorest traveller feeling as safe as the richest.

How India has been morally and materially benefited under the British rule will be

Old India contrasted with the new. described in the following chapters.

Below is quoted an interesting extract from Sir W. W. Hunter's book, contrasting what India was from what India is. He writes "I have often amused myself during my solitary peregrinations, by imagining what a Hindu of the last century would think of the present state of his country if he could revisit the Earth. I have supposed that his first surprise at the outward physical changes had subsided; that he has got accustomed to the fact that thousands of square miles of jungle, which in his time were inhabited only by wild beasts, have been turned into fertile crop lands; that fever-smitten swamps have been covered with healthy, welldrained cities; that the mountain walls which shut off the interior of India from the seaports, have been pierced by roads and scaled by railways; that the great rivers which formed the barriers between provinces and desolated the country with their floods, have now been controlled to the uses of man, spanned by bridges and tapped by canals. But what would strike him as more surprising than these outward changes, is the security of the people. In provinces where every man from the prince to the peasant, a hundred years ago, went armed, he would look round in vain for a matchlock or a sword. He would find the multitudinous Native States of India, which he remembered in jealous isolation broken only by merciless wars, now trading quietly with each other. bound together with railways and roads, by post and the telegraph. He would find, moreover, much that was

new as well as much that was changed. He would see the country dotted with imposing edifices in a strange foreign architecture, of which he could not guess the use. He would ask what wealthy prince had reared for himself that spacious palace? He would be answered that the building was no pleasure-house for the rich, but a hospital for the poor. He would enquire, in honour of what new deity is this splendid shrine? He would be told that it was no new temple to the gods, but a school for the people. Instead of bristling fortresses, he would see courts of justice, in place of a Mahomedan general in charge of each district, he would find an English Magistrate; instead of swarming soldiery, he would discover a police. He would also see great bodies of traders and husbandmen living in a security and comfort unknown in the palmiest days of the Mughals.....”

The President of the Great American Republic is elected by the American people. How this distinguished, elected statesman is esteemed by the whole civilised world can be judged from the royal reception which all the great Powers of Europe are now-a-days according to the present President, Dr. Wilson. His predecessor in office—Mr. Taft—in his speech at an American Club expressed his opinion in the year 1914, about Great Britain’s work in India and elsewhere. He said that his experience in the Philippines forced him to study the British colonial system, and the marvellous accomplishment of the Imperial Government in spreading civilisation over the world and promoting the

Opinion of Mr. W. H. Taft, Ex-President of America, about Britain’s work in India and elsewhere.

happiness of 400,000,000 people. But for English enterprise, English courage, English sense of responsibility in governing other races, human civilisation would have been greatly retarded.

“ When I think of what England has done in India for the happiness of those people ; how she found those many millions torn by internecine strife, disrupted with constant wars, unable to continue agriculture or the arts of peace, with inferior roads, tyranny and oppression, and when I think what the Government of Great Britain is now doing for these alien races, the debt the world owes England ought to be acknowledged in no grudging manner..... ”

“ To-day impartial historians must look at the British Empire, from the standpoint of benevolent, useful, elevating government. It must be regarded from the point of view of benefit to the human race. No one can encircle the globe, no one live in the orient, no one go into the tropics, without seeing the standard of England floating over the soil of the Empire, and without having it brought home to him what a factor in the progress of mankind she has been..... ”

No nation except Great Britain, he said, had such self-governing dominions of people tied to her empire with bonds of loyalty and affection which seemed to grow as the actual control of the mother country diminished and lightened.

CHAPTER V.

THE GREATEST BLESSING OF THE BRITISH
RULE—EDUCATION OF THE PUBLIC.

Of all the steps taken by the British Government

The State for the first time undertakes the education of the public.

for the benefit of the Indians, the policy which it adopted of giving public instruction, as a State duty, to all its subjects, is the greatest

advantage which it has conferred on our country. None of the preceding Governments of India ever undertook or attempted the task of educating the whole Indian people, rich and poor, of whatever race, caste, or creed. It was the British Government which for the first time recognised the education of all classes as the most important duty of the State, and undertook to teach Indians the English language, with the view of rendering Western arts and sciences accessible to them, so that the Indians should not lag behind other advanced nations of the world. In the course of 30 years (between the years 1857 and 1887) five universities were established at Calcutta, Bombay, Madras, Lahore, and Allahabad ; and schools and colleges were opened in all the important villages and towns. In ancient times education was confined only to certain privileged castes. The depressed classes or the untouchables were absolutely debarred from all sorts of education. The blessing of knowledge was denied to them. This invidious distinction is generally observed even to this day, and in private schools the managers still object to the admission of low caste children in their schools, and usually do not admit them.

It was reserved for the British Government to ignore all racial and social distinctions, and to open the doors of public schools to the boys and girls of all classes of the Indian people irrespective of their race, caste or creed. Many fresh instances of ungenerous treatment of the low born children may be quoted. Only recently a District Board announced that no person of the low caste was allowed to stop at such and such Dak Bungalow, and similarly a boy was turned out of a school by the order of the President of the District Board, simply because he was an outcaste. The English Magistrate, however, over-ruled both these decisions.

The original inhabitants of India, or the Indians proper (the aborigines) who were either made slaves by the early Aryan invaders or were turned out by those invaders to the hills and forests, were suffered to remain absolutely ignorant and illiterate for thousands of years. The British Government realised this sad state of affairs, and has been steadily trying to extend the benefit of education to these fallen Indians for their moral and social regeneration and improvement. The aborigines, low castes and outcastes residing in the British territory number more than 45 millions (45,721,924). The British Government has sought, as far as practicable, to educate these people. But the aboriginal tribes of India have so long been accustomed to hill and forest life, that any approach to civilised life is now repugnant to them, and they now naturally abhor the neighbourhood of well populated areas. The low castes or the untouchables

System of popular education.

Arrangement made for the education of the Indians proper.

in the same manner have been so much used to a life of thralldom for thousands of years that they have lost all consciousness of self-realisation and personal rights, and they do not consider themselves as deserving of any education or advancement. They do not, moreover, live in large numbers at any one particular place, to facilitate special arrangement for their special education, but are thinly dispersed in all parts of the country. The greatest difficulty which militates against providing educational facilities for these classes is that the various tribes of all these aboriginal and depressed classes speak different languages, and that they have no written language of their own, and it is not, therefore, practicable to impart instruction to them through the medium of their mother-tongue.

Then again the number of the members of each tribe is very limited, and it is not, therefore, worth one's while to acquire a knowledge of all these diverse dialects, to classify them and frame independent grammatical rules for each of these dialects. It has, therefore, been considered advisable to instruct them through the medium of the local languages of their neighbourhood, and efforts are at the same time being made to reduce all the tribal dialects to writing in Roman characters. Special schools have now been opened in all the provinces for the education of the aboriginal and depressed classes. In consideration of their natural shyness and repulsion from all innovations, intelligent individuals have been selected from amongst them, and specially educated and trained to serve as teachers in the special schools. Abundant special scholarships and stipends

are provided for the children attending these schools, who are also exempt from payment of tuition fees. In some places special hostels have been provided for the low caste children, and they are, at the same time, trained for some trade or profession to enable them to independently earn their livelihood. Special Training Schools exist for the training of their teachers and a Special Inspecting staff is appointed for the supervision and inspection of their schools. Notwithstanding all the obstacles and difficulties referred to above, the total of the children of aboriginal and depressed classes attending the special schools now approaches seven hundred thousand (6,82,244), and is steadily increasing. Thus the original inhabitants of the country, the low castes and the out-castes, that were sunk in brutal ignorance for thousands of years are now for the first time being disenthralled from the bondage in which they hitherto stood and are now free to avail themselves of the means of improving themselves industrially and educationally.

Soon after the Mutiny, when the administration of India was undertaken by the British Government, all the public and private educational institutions numbered about fifty-one thousand (50,998), of which 13 were colleges. The total number of scholars under instruction in all the Public and Private institutions aggregated about nine hundred thousand (9,12,378). Previous to the year 1858, India was governed by the East India Company, which was a body of traders, the principal object of which was to establish and improve trade relations between England and India. They, too, however, realised their extraordinary responsibilities, and

Educational statistics
at the early stage of
British rule.

in their own interest devoted both their attention and money to improve the state of affairs in this country. But the Indians came under the direct control of the Crown in 1858, and it is from this date that the work of the British Government properly commences. The total annual amount spent on education in the early days of the British rule previous to the year 1887 could not be ascertained. The amount spent in 1887 aggregated 25 millions of rupees (one rupee=two shillings) of which the expenses incurred by the Government amounted to Rs. 1,34,00,000, the balance representing income from tuition fees and private donations.

Compared to the above figures, the educational institutions in India numbered two hundred thousand on 31st March 1918, having eight million scholars under instruction. This number of institutions and scholars is double the corresponding numbers ten years ago. Separate departments of public instruction exist in each province, under which an efficient inspecting staff watches and supervises the work of education carried on in all parts of the country. To secure efficiency of educational work, a number of Training Colleges and Normal Schools has been established in every province, and their number is annually increasing, for the purpose of training teachers. Female education has received much greater attention than ever before. The recent figures quoted above include 33,770 girl schools and 1,264,189 girl pupils under instruction.

Medical Colleges and schools have been turning out physicians, surgeons, and nurses, who are serving their country, and

affording relief to the millions of their suffering countrymen. Excellent Engineering Colleges exist in Bengal, Madras, Bombay, and the well-known Engineering College at Roorki in these provinces can stand comparison with the best Engineering Colleges in England. There are besides the Colleges many Engineering Schools dispersed all over the country. Big railway work-shops exist in large towns where innumerable Indians receive training in wood and iron works, and are fitted to earn their livelihood. The well-known Agricultural College at Pusa (Bengal), Poona (Bombay) and Madras have proved immensely beneficial to the country. Many other agricultural schools have already been established in each province and their number is gradually increasing. Law has proved the favoured profession, and the increase in the number of persons preparing themselves for the profession of law is simply surprising. Capable and experienced pleaders and advocates have proved a great help to the Government in the administration of justice. Schools have been opened in different parts of India to train Indians in mechanics, electricity, carpentry, weaving, mining, tanning and other cognate industries, while for higher technical and industrial education and training the Government awards liberal State scholarships to suitable Indian candidates to enable them to qualify themselves in foreign advanced countries. An Independent Industrial department has now been created to facilitate industrial progress. The department will be controlled by the Indians themselves, and substantial progress in this direction is expected in the near future.

During the year ending 31st March 1918, twelve crores (120 millions of rupees) were spent on education;

of this expenditure 65 millions was incurred by the Government, and the larger portion of the balance was realised from tuition fees and the remaining sum represented private contributions. The statement given below represents the number of the various educational institutions and of the scholars under instruction.

Particular of Institutions.	GOVERNMENT.		AIDED BY GOVERNMENT.		PRIVATE UNAIDED.	
	Institutions.	Scholars.	Institutions.	Scholars.	Institutions.	Scholars.
Arts Colleges	37	12,003	77	25,125	24	13,313
Technical Colleges of Law, Medicine, Engineering, Agriculture, Education Veterinary, Commerce and Forest.	45	10,115	9	532	9	1,848
Secondary Schools—the Middle and High Schools.	1,960	312,090	4,364	624,286	1,530	262,210
Special School for Law, Industries, Education, Medicine, Engineering, Agriculture and Commerce.	902	33,491	1,878	60,322	800	23,666
Primary Schools	41,937	2,468,762	88,413	3,011,113	17,545	452,866
High Grade Private Arabic, Sanskrit and Persian Schools.	...	...	...	...	2,601	57,509
Primary Private Schools.	...	...	...	...	34,808	578,817
Total	44,881	2,836,461	94,741	3,721,378	57,297	1,390,229

Thus according to the above statement, during the year ending 31st March 1918, there were altogether 201 colleges, 11,434 secondary schools, 147,875 primary schools and 37,409 private *madrasas* or *maktabs* or 196,919 institutions in all, in which 7,948,068 scholars were under instruction. In view of the efficiency and discipline found in Government and aided schools, the number of private institutions is gradually declining, while the number of institutions managed or aided by the Government is steadily increasing, and consequently the expenditure incurred on education by the Government is annually going up.

During the past five years the annual average of successful candidates for examinations in the various stages of instruction throughout the country was as follows:—

Number of successful students in the various stages.

In the Matriculation Examination the annual average of successful candidates was 13,252, in the Intermediate Examination the average was 5,531, in B.A. 3,529, in B.Sc. 406, in M.A. 496, and in M.Sc. 83.

From 1892 to 1917—a period of 26 years—57,269 graduated in Arts, Sciences, Medicine and Engineering. The number of graduates turned out by the Indian University in the year 1912 alone amounted to 1,004, while the corresponding number of graduates of the year 1917 rose to 5,234. These comparative figures are a clear indication of the progress that is being made in India in all the branches of liberal education. In the course of the same 26 years, besides the number of graduates shown above, 5,744 secured the degrees of M.A., 15 that of the D.Sc., 12 of the M.O.L., and 29 of

M.D., and no less than 21,262 passed the LL.B. Examination and prepared themselves for law. The number of graduates who passed the LL.B. Examination in the year 1917 alone was 2,003.

Keeping in view the immensity of the Indian population, the rate of educational progress has so far been undoubtedly slow, and according to the last census the percentage of literate population in India was indeed very low, *viz.* 5.9, which is to say that 95 per cent. were illiterate. Indian patriots are used to compare this poor percentage of literacy with the corresponding percentage of European countries and that of Japan, and then to deplore the educational backwardness of India. All are agreed with them that there is yet very much to be done here to promote education in this country in order to approach the standard of literacy in other advanced countries. But in comparing the Indian percentage to that of other advanced nations, we should keep in mind not only its vast area and population, but should also have in view the unusual difficulties peculiar to India which have militated against the rapid promulgation of education in this country.

The greatest obstacle to the progress of education in this country is the difference of languages. If like other countries

(1) Difference of languages.

innumerable heterogeneous languages were not spoken in this country, and instruction had to be imparted only in one language, progress would have naturally been rapid, as in that case a very large number of trained teachers should have easily been available and many more schools opened in every pa

of the country ; but diversity of languages stands in the way.

The diversity of languages would not have mattered so much, had the speakers of one language lived in the same place. But this is not so. Those who speak the same language are dispersed all over India, speakers of the same language cannot, therefore, receive instruction in one and the same school, nor can one teacher usually teach different languages to the children speaking different languages, as linguists are not ordinarily available.

Then again the question of the variety of communal needs and requirements comes in. The sort of education which suits one community is considered unsuitable to the other. The Mahomedans did not avail themselves of the Government public schools for a long time simply because they considered the purely secular education provided in Government institutions as inadequate to meet their requirements, notwithstanding all the special facilities and encouragements provided for them, they kept aloof from public schools. Special obstacles, moreover to the education of the aborigines, low castes and out-castes, which constitute a substantial portion of the population, exist as referred to before, and the Government has not so far been successful in entirely overcoming these obstacles due to caste system.

It is impossible to successfully carry out any educational programme on a large scale in India, so long as the female folk are absolutely illiterate and ignorant.

(2) People speaking one language do not live at the same place.

(3) Communal differences.

(4) Antipathy with female education.

In other advanced countries boys and girls receive their education alike in public schools, while in India female education is as yet only in the inceptive stage. It is, therefore, obvious that, provided other environments were the same, the percentage of scholars under instruction in India in the absence of female education should be only half of that obtaining in any other civilised country, because half of the Indian population has absolutely no concern with education whatsoever.

In England 90 per cent of the people live in cities, the population of which exceeds ten thousand. Of these 25 per cent live in larger cities and towns having a population of more than 2,50,000. Agriculture is only one of the seven or eight industries which provide ample means of subsistence to the English people, and there the collective income of the people derived from agriculture is comparatively very small. The condition of affairs is just the reverse in India, where 90 per cent. of the population is rural which mostly lives on agriculture, and only 10 per cent. live in towns, the population of which is 5,000 or above. There are very few cities in India, where you will not find even ten towns with a population of two hundred thousand. It is a well-known truth that in no part of the world, the agricultural classes have ever appreciated or acknowledged the advantages of literacy. Since literacy has no direct bearing on their profession, and the knowledge of 3 R.'s does not in any way immediately help them in their daily task, the agriculturists have altogether ignored education in our country. Under the circumstances it is not an easy

(5) Ninety per cent of the population is rural and lives on agriculture.

thing to accelerate the progress of education amongst the agricultural classes, which form the bulk of the population. In other civilised countries the majority of the population lives in towns, and all urban pursuits require some form of previous intellectual training and development, which naturally leads to a demand for education, and wherever real demand exists, provision has to be made somehow for the education of the people there. Obviously such is not the case in India where 90 per cent constitutes the rural population devoted to agriculture, for which education has no attraction nay—they look upon it as something uninteresting and in no way helpful to them in the performance of their daily work. It consequently requires extraordinary persuasive efforts to invite their attention to the need of popular education.

Keeping in mind this peculiarity of Indian population,

Education of urban India compared to that of other civilised nations, it would be only fair to compare the progress of education in other civilised countries to that of the urban population of India, and it will then be found that educational progress amongst the urban people of India does not compare very unfavourably with the average obtaining in other countries. The percentage of scholars receiving secondary education in India, for instance, which is mostly shared by the urban population is not so low. The average of scholars attending secondary schools per ten thousand population in Germany is 98, in England it is 62, in France 32, in Japan 35 and in India 48. Bengal is inhabited by persons mostly belonging to the same nationality and speaking the same language. Consequently the rate of educational progress there has been comparatively more rapid. Collegiate education in Bengal, therefore,

compares favourably with that of other advanced countries. The percentage of University education per ten thousand in Germany was 8, in England 7, in France 10, in Japan 7, in Italy 6, and in Bengal 5. If female education, to which the bulk of the Indian population is apathetic, be ignored in this calculation, then the percentage of Bengal goes up to 9, which is better than the average obtaining in several other advanced countries.

It will thus be seen that the lack of any written language amongst the aborigines and the depressed classes, unpopularity of female education, difference of languages, variety of educational requirements of the different Indian nationalities, caste prejudices, the vast majority of the rural and agricultural population, the living together of peoples speaking different languages, and the fact that people speaking the same language are dispersed all over the country, all have combined to retard the progress of education in India and are still retarding it. The chief thing which ought to be noticed is whether progress of Education in India has of late been more rapid or not. No one can deny the well-known fact that by the persistent efforts on the part of the administration, education is making headway in all stages. The number of institutions and that of scholars under instruction have been steadily increasing. The system of higher education is being reformed, and new residential universities are springing up in large towns. Such universities have already been founded at Benares, Patna, Dacca, and Aligarh, and proposals of establishing similar universities at Rangoon, Nagpur, Lucknow, and Agra are under the consideration of the Government.

As has already been shown, the almost insurmountable difficulty peculiar to India, in the way of imparting instruction is the question of the vernaculars of the country. It is admitted by all

Difficulties concerning the medium of instruction.

that rapid educational progress is not practicable unless instruction is imparted through the medium of our own vernacular. The demand is quite reasonable, but we must not under-rate the difficulties of the administration in meeting this pressing demand. The question, however, naturally arises through the medium of which Indian vernacular, the Western arts and sciences are to be taught to the Indians? Every language claims the capacity of possessing a learned literature, and even if this claim is admitted, it is necessary that all languages should have a sufficient number of suitable text-books for all stages of instruction. In advanced countries the work of writing and compiling new text-books is so actively pursued that even if only translations of the new publications be undertaken in one or all the vernaculars to serve our purpose, better sets of new books will have arrived before the translation of the older sets is complete. Suppose that this difficulty too is overcome, even then the difficult question of making arrangement for the education of the mixed population of India is not so easy to solve.

On the demand of the Indian patriots the Government has lately permitted instruction henceforward to be given through the medium of the boy's vernacular up to class VIII. Mathematics History and Geography, Chemistry and Physics, and

Practical difficulties of the vernacular medium of instruction now permitted.

all subjects other than the English text-books, are accordingly now taught through Indian vernaculars up to the Middle Standard. But the drawbacks of this new system and the educational loss to which students are now liable, are known only to those who actually do the teaching work. Boys speaking and using Bengali, Hindi, and Urdu are generally found in every school in this part of the country. The three languages are entirely distinct from one another and have nothing in common both in verbal expression and in their written characters. Each student is now required to keep a written record of his daily work in all the subjects in his own vernacular. The teacher has to teach every subject through the medium of the boy's own vernacular, with the help of "the Black Board" and has to write on the board a summary of the daily lesson which the boys are required to copy in their own copy-books in his own vernacular of course—and ordinarily there is only one teacher in each school for each subject. This teacher is expected to be equally familiar with Urdu, Hindi, and Bengali, so as to be able to teach efficiently his Hindi, Urdu, and Bengali-knowing pupils in their respective languages at one and the same time, and to personally examine, value and mark their answer-books in three different languages. Even ignoring Bengali, Urdu, and Hindi-knowing boys are found in every school almost in equal numbers. Although every teacher is encouraged to learn and qualify himself in both these vernaculars, actual experience shows that one teacher can efficiently teach through the medium of only one vernacular which is his own. Under the circumstances all the boys cannot

be equally benefited by one teacher, and one set of students in each class must suffer. The only solution of this difficulty is that either students knowing the same language should be admitted in one school or more than one teacher, knowing the various languages of all the school boys, should be appointed to teach the same subject to the same class in the same period of time. Neither of these alternatives is practicable for the present and the difficulty must stand.

Notwithstanding all the obstacles referred to above, progress of education has been steady in all directions, and yearly the ranks of the educated are swollen by hundreds of thousands and the result has been a revival of letters such as the world has never seen. On 31st March 1818, the Serampur missionaries issued the first newspaper, ever printed in a native language of India, which usually dealt with religious topics.

Printing presses numbered 3,237 in 1916, but in face of all the difficulties and obstacles created by the great recent European War, the number of printing presses has increased by 500 during the past five years while the number of vernacular journals now approaches one thousand, besides which magazines and periodicals number no less than 2,927. In ancient times news could be transmitted only by means of messengers or letters, but now everything that happens in the remotest corner of the world may be learnt daily by means of newspapers. Some years before, newspapers were published only from Bombay, Madras, and Calcutta, but they are now issued from almost all important towns.

Literary upheaval of the country. The Press and the growing literature.

In the year 1917, 1,541 new books written in English and other European languages, and 10,658 written in Indian vernaculars were published in India, besides a vast importation of literature from England. Educational societies now number 1,195 in Madras alone, where there are 764 Reading Rooms having 33,000 members. Bombay has 227 libraries. The Indian intellect is thus marching in many directions rejoicing in its new strength.

Restrictions formerly imposed on the Press have now been removed, and the liberty which the Indian Press now enjoys could not even be conceived in any former rule. The press now has perfect liberty of criticising the policy and actions of the Government, and even the most ordinary scribbler may, with impunity, lampoon the heads of provinces and even the Governor-General himself. The publication of seditious writings alone is prohibited by laws and this prohibition applies equally to the native papers and to those owned or edited by Englishmen. Every Indian can now give free ventilation to his views in the Legislative Councils, in public and communal meetings and can make his opinions known in all parts of the world through the agency of newspapers. This is a concession and a privilege which none ever dreamed in India before the British rule.

The most prominent among all the advantages which have accrued to India during the British rule, is that the English language has proved a great unifying force. Notwithstanding all the differences and diversities existing amongst the Indian people, the English language and what it stands for is the most powerful force acting

The unifying power of the English language.

to-day in India in the direction of national unity. An Indian who knows the English language and is able to speak this language can travel most conveniently from the Himalayas to Ceylon and from Burma to Guzerat and can pass through all important towns and villages without experiencing difficulty owing to the prevailing difference of languages. One of the novel features of modern Indian life is the frequent holding of Pan-Indian congresses for the discussion of political, social, industrial, religious, and other subjects. These assemblies which bring together the most prominent men from all parts of India could not be held if India were without roads, railways, post and telegraph, as was the case in pre British days. Supposing, however, that such gatherings were possible, even in the absence of the present means of communication and transport, it would have been simply impossible to secure the object of such meetings, were it not for the common basis provided by the English language, which is gradually becoming the *lingua franca* of India. It is entirely due to the English language that the Buddhists of Burma, the Fire-worshippers of Bombay, the Babus of Bengal, the Brahmins of Madras, the Sikhs of the Punjab, the Mahrattas of Poona, the Pathans and Rajputs of the Northern India, and the Tamil and Telegu-speaking people of the Southern India can now freely exchange views and take part in all discussions on one and the same platform, and fully make known their thoughts and sentiments to the Government. It is through the medium of English language that Western arts and sciences have been accessible to all the Indians alike, that the peoples of India are now much better informed,

and that a craving for personal and national liberty has developed by reading the accounts of other advanced and free nations.

The English not only taught us Western sciences through their language, but have

It is the Englishmen who infused national aspirations in us.

also taught us the most important lesson of nationality and freedom.

Even before our Indian National

Congress came into being, English civilians of the type of Mr. A. O. Hume, C.B., who is rightly known as the father of the Indian National Congress, upheld the cause of India and of the Indians, and impressed on the Government the necessity of Englishmen's friendly behaviour and intimacy with the Indians, and pointed out for the first time that persons who paid frequent visits to the British officers were not the real representatives of the people, and that the educated classes had greater hold upon the people and it is the latter class which should necessarily be consulted on all important occasions. It is Englishmen themselves who by means of their writings created in us a craving for personal and national freedom, liberty of the Press, liberty of holding public meetings, right of appointment to the highest Civil and Military offices in order to share equally with the Englishmen the responsibilities of administration, the institution of democracy in place of bureaucracy, the repeal of the Arms Act, development of the Indian industries, curtailment of the expenditure on the Army, Self-government, and Home rule, and various other concessions and privileges. I can, without fear of contradiction, declare that even the extremist class of our countrymen can scarcely bring forward any new political

demand which has not been referred to or discussed in the writings of liberal-minded Englishmen such as Messrs. Hume, Cotton, and others, published before the inauguration of the Indian Congress.

Below are quoted extracts from the opinions of

two representative Americans—
 Dr. Franklin Jeffreys and Dr. Jones—
 who had actual knowledge of conditions in India (published in the

• Testimony of two
 impartial critics in respect of British educational policy in India

years 1907 and 1908 respectively) :—

(1) "The British in India have done a splendid work along many lines in raising the people to a higher standard of civilisation. They have fostered and developed a thorough educational system that has worked powerful changes in the thought condition of the people. More than three millions of the Indians are to-day able to speak the language. Perhaps the two greatest blessings brought to India have been the strong Central Government and the growing spirit of nationalism. In the history of man nothing in the way of alien rule has been so vast in its magnitude or so difficult in the carrying out as the attempt of our English cousins in India, and their splendid success challenges our highest admiration. In all India there is but a handful of English to rule, and they have been training a complex people made up of 43 different races and nationalities, divided into 2,378 main castes, more or less antagonistic each to the other, and holding a number of distinct religions. These are the people they have been fitting for self-rule."

(2) "The British Government in India has carried forward the whole people with it in a mighty current of

progress. It has educated millions, it has breathed within them the spirit of unrest; it has made them capable of much greater things than their ancestors ever dreamed; in brief, it has brought to them the first dawning sense of national existence and the desire for independence and power. And it has been quieting the spirit which it has thus roused by adding more and more to their privileges and powers. *It is to the everlasting credit of Great Britain that she made the present agitation a possibility.* Imagine such a movement as this in Russia to-day or even in more advanced European countries!"

Self help necessary
for educational
advancement.

Before concluding this chapter it must be pointed out that the striking variance in the educational and intellectual standard of the different communities in India, is by itself an obvious proof of the fact that the educational progress depends after all upon the voluntary efforts of the communities themselves. The very high standard of education found among the Parsis, who are literate almost cent per cent, proves beyond doubt that the Government has spared no pains in bringing means of education within easy reach of the Indian people.

CHAPTER VI.

IMPROVED MEANS OF TRANSPORT.

(1) THE ROAD.

The progress and prosperity of every country chiefly depend upon the preservation of its internal peace as well as on the facilities of transit and transport. If there is no peace in the country, and life and property are insecure, obviously the people there cannot have

opportunities of any intellectual or material progress. Then again supposing the country enjoys peace, but does not possess easy means of transit, trade and industries cannot flourish, which alone lead to prosperity

• It is not generally realised what wonderful progress has been made in India in the last 70 years in the construction of roads and of railways which constitute the easy means of transit and transport. Shortly after Lord Roberts came to India in 1852, he was directed to proceed from Calcutta to Peshawar, a distance of about 1,500 miles. The journey now takes about 60 hours, in 1852 it occupied three months. Lord Roberts travelled from Calcutta to Benares by river. This part of the journey took about a month. He then proceeded from Benares to Meerut in a horse-cart. Horses had to be changed constantly. The Grand Trunk Road which now stretches from Calcutta to Peshawar at that time did not go beyond Meerut. From Meerut it was necessary, therefore, to travel in a palanquin or dandy. Now the traveller, if he wishes to go by road, can motor direct, in less than 30 hours, from Calcutta to Peshawar by one of the finest roads in the world. Most people, however, in making this journey prefer to go by train. Whichever method is chosen, the difference in time taken is remarkable. From the single example quoted above, we can easily judge to what trouble and inconvenience the travellers were liable in those days, and how expensive travelling must have been under such circumstances. When this example refers to the case of a Government

officer of high rank and position, and we can infer to what extra troubles ordinary travellers must have been exposed. No good roads similar to the metalled roads of the present day existed in India before 1840. The custom was to plant trees on each side of a track to mark the route and provide shade. The rivers were not bridged, and so during the rains, except where it was possible to proceed by river, trade was stopped and it was very difficult to move about the country. During the census of 1901, I had to make a continuous tour in the Gwalior territory as a Superintending Officer appointed by the Government. This territory is situated in what is known as the Malwa region. I found that in the rainy season, with the exception of a horse or an elephant, no other conveyance was serviceable, as in the absence of roads and bridges, bullock-carts and horse-carts cannot be used particularly because the soil is made up of soft sticky clay. The cart wheel once stuck in the wet soil cannot move one way or the other, and all traffic consequently stops for four or five months. Conditions are, however, changing, and now in British India alone there are at least 37,000 miles of good metalled roads. If ordinary second and third class roads be also reckoned the total length of roads exceeds 130,000 miles, the annual expenditure for the up-keep of which amounts to twenty million rupees. The extension of railways necessitates the construction of more and more roads in order to facilitate access to the new Railway Stations, and the whole country is now covered with a supplementary net-work of roads carrying on the good work which is being done by the railways.

Roads have not only facilitated trade, but have proved effective means of frequent intercourse amongst peoples living in the distant parts of the country, promoting unity, fellow-feelings, and improved friendly relations. Good

Roads facilitate trade and intercourse amongst the people and help in the defence of India.

roads, moreover, furnish the means of quicker movements of troops and supplies and, therefore, render the task of the preservation of peace and of the defence of India much easier. If one travels among the hills and mountains of India, one is enormously struck at the skill shown by the British Engineers in surmounting difficulties of road-making. Hundreds of years from now, when all current events are forgotten, the roads, tunnels and bridges erected by the British Engineers will remain as a monument to their patience, their industry, and their practical gifts

(2) THE RAILWAYS.

The most striking of England's achievements in India are the railways.

Sixty years ago when there were no railways in India, poor men travelled on foot by day, and rested under trees by night. The rich rode on ponies or were carried in bullock-carts, horse-carts, or in palanquins (dandy) at the rate of three or four miles an hour. Travellers were exposed to fatigue, to the weather, to robbers to sickness, and sometimes had to lie down and die alone. Much more time and money was spent even on short journeys. The routes were unsafe and infested with robbers and plunderers, who plundered the

Troubles of travelling in olden days.

travellers and even murdered them. It was risky and sometimes fatal to travel alone and so intending travellers had to wait long till they were able to form a caravan and to travel in large numbers. This state of affairs, however, is now a thing of the past. Rivers even like the Ganges and Jumna have been bridged, and men can now very easily traverse by rail distances of hundreds of miles in a few hours, perfectly secure and without incurring any risk.

The railways carry food from prosperous districts to famine-stricken provinces, and convey the surplus products in different parts of the country to big trading centres and seaports and thus enable them to find the best market. We can now turn over our money ten times as fast and profitably as when we had not these advantages, to say nothing of the increased security of transit and transport.

The railways serving as the means of rapid movement of troops, of arms and ammunition, and of supplies, have greatly added to the military strength of our country. Troops can be easily sent by rail to any part of India, and it is consequently unnecessary to maintain bodies of soldiers at great many places to meet emergencies. There are now many abandoned military cantonments in India.

By railways the peoples of this great continent have been drawn together. The country has been opened up, knowledge and enlightenment have been spread. The awakening of India to

Famines mitigated and commerce promoted by a net-work of railways.

Railways add to the military strength of the country.

Intellectual and moral advantage of railways.

some sense of national feeling and brotherhood is mostly due to roads and railways. The system of caste is being affected to a certain extent by the linking up of province with province and race with race by easy means of communication. The opening up of the land, the facilities that roads and railways afford to the peoples of the north to get to know and understand the peoples of the south, the newborn friendly feeling which comes as the natural result of constant relations between races, are all blessings to India due to facilities for travel which we now enjoy.

We now travel 700 miles instead of 15 miles a day and at one-sixth of the old cost, ordinary passengers have to pay at an average of one pice ($\frac{1}{4}d.$) per mile. It has been estimated that the producers, traders, and passengers of India are benefited to an amount equal to 1,500 million rupees annually by reason of cheapness of railway as compared with old modes of travelling. The saving of time again is a considerable pecuniary gain by itself.

One of the inestimable advantages, which the railways have conferred on India, is that they have made national gatherings possible in all parts of India. Thousands of educated persons, from every part of the country, assemble every year at one place to exchange views and discuss political, social, educational, industrial, and religious topics. Had there been no railways, it would not have been possible to hold the grand and imposing annual meeting of the National Congress and of the other educational, industrial, and

social conferences. No civilised country having the faintest claim to civilisation can do without railways.

When the administration of India was transferred to the Crown, the need of railways was felt for the protection of the country, for maintaining its internal peace, and for promoting commerce. The construction of railways, however, required immense capital. The Indians by themselves are not accustomed to invest their capital in any industrial enterprise on any large scale, as the prevailing rates of interest here are very high. The Indian money-lender gives money at rates of interest varying from 12 to 50 per cent. Poor people can borrow money only at the rate of one anna per rupee per month, which comes to 75 per cent per annum. Obviously the Government could not afford to borrow money for the construction of railways at such exorbitant rates of interest, and it was for this reason that the Government had to look for foreign capital at a cheaper rate.

On enquiry it was found that the German, French, and the American capitalists demanded interest from .5 to 10 per cent, and London proved to be the cheapest market in the world for the Indian Government which stood in need of capital. The English capitalists were willing to lend millions to the Government of India at the cheapest rate, *viz.*, 3 or 3½ per cent per annum. This cheap offer was, of course, accepted and no body can say that India in any way suffered by obtaining loans from England on such easy terms. We ourselves could not make the railways, nor were we willing to part with our money at a cheaper

Need of foreign capital.

London lends money at the cheapest rate.

rate of interest, the next best thing, under the circumstances, was to have them made for us by the Government with the aid of foreign capital. For it would not have been wise to wait a century or two further and to indefinitely postpone all moral, intellectual, and material progress of our country.

Whenever the Government is in need of a loan to meet emergencies or for the improvement of the country, it widely advertises the amount and conditions of the required loan. For instance, the Government of India recently offered 5 per cent interest on a loan required during the months of July and August, 1919. As a further concession to money-lenders, they were required to pay Rs. 95 in cash but to receive interest on the full amount of Rs. 100. The time allowed to the people to contribute to the loan was restricted to two months. The amount, however, realised by the Government at the end of the first month was only 110 million rupees. The same loan was also advertised in London papers, but at the reduced rate of 4 per cent, and within exactly the same period the English people contributed in cash no less than 9,000 million rupees. This recent instance alone is sufficient to demonstrate to what extent the Indian capitalists shirk from lending their money, notwithstanding their complete confidence in the Government and the distinctly more favourable rate of interest.

There are some people who think that borrowing of foreign capital is a loss to the country. In his "Essays on Indian Economics" the late Hon'ble Mr.

Hon'ble Mr. Justice
Ranade's view.

Justice Ranade writes : " A portion of the amount (sent from India to England) represents interest on moneys advanced to or invested in our country, and so far from complaining, we have reasons to be thankful that we have a creditor who supplies our needs at such a low rate of interest."

In the early days of British rule, the Government tried to induce private English companies to undertake the construction of Indian railways on their own account. But when the companies were found unwilling to risk their capital in a foreign land, the Government undertook to make good any loss which the companies might incur in the work and guaranteed a minimum return of 5 per cent on their outlay. It was under such assurances on the part of the Government that the construction of railways was started. But the Government was put to great pecuniary loss as a consequence of its self-imposed guarantees which had to be given up later on, when the Government itself took into its own hands the construction of railways. In the meantime Government's knowledge of the country had considerably increased and the science of engineering had greatly advanced, with the result that the railway works began to pay since the year 1900

The first railway, 20 miles in length, was opened in 1853 between Bombay and Thana. Additions have gradually been made till in the year 1917 upwards of 36,286 miles were open at a cost of Rs. 5,44,67,40,000 (5,446 millions). During the year 1917-18 the total income from railways amount-

Construction of rail-ways

Railway statistics.

ed to Rs. 68,76,00,000 and deducting Rs. 32½ crores on account of the expenditure incurred, the net income to the Government under this head exceeded 36 crores or 360 millions. The railways are extended every year, and so the income from this head is gradually increasing. In the course of the year 1916-17 when the great European war was in progress, 3 crores (30 millions) were allotted for railway extension, while in the budget estimates for the year 1919-20, Rs. 26½ crores (265 millions) have been sanctioned for the extension and improvement of the railways. These figures throw light upon the growing advantages accruing to India from this source of our material progress. The income from railways is the largest of all other items of receipts. For the year quoted above, it has exceeded the income from all sub-heads of the land revenue by 4 crores (40 millions). The whole of this income is applied on the various improvements of our country.

No better employment can be found for foreign capital in this country than in the construction of railways. Wherever they have traversed, their power to increase the efficiency of land, labour, and capital to produce wealth has been marvellous. Railways are wings of commerce, by the aid of which it reaches the most distant lands, scattering wealth and activity in its track. A generation ago, the peasants of our United Provinces could hardly even dream that the *moonj* grass growing on the boundary ridges of their fields would be paid for in bright silver, taken hundreds of miles away to Bally near Calcutta and there made into paper.

In the year 1916-17, the railways carried 486,030,900 passengers, and transported 24,14,776,000 maunds of goods. The rates charged for passengers on Indian railways are as low as one pice ($\frac{1}{4}d.$) per mile, and under one half penny per ton (28 maunds) per mile for goods.

According to the census of 1911, nine years ago, the railways gave direct employment of all grades to 900,000 persons, of which more than 850,000 were Indians. Innumerable Indian contractors and thousands of their workmen and coolies earn their livelihood from railways. The Indian coolies working at the railway stations now earn from eight annas to Rs 3 per day, and all these persons are beside the number of railway employ  s quoted above. The railways have been greatly extended during the past 9 years, and obviously the number of persons supported by the railways must have considerably increased by now.

The Indian railways are not always constructed to yield profit, sometimes they run through thinly peopled tracts simply to protect them against famine, such railways do not pay; but they are invaluable in droughts. India is a vast country and drought, therefore, almost always occurs in some part or other. The railways carry food from prosperous areas to famine-stricken districts to save the people there from starvation. Formerly grain and supplies were transported by pack oxen, ponies, donkeys and bullock-carts, but by this means it took a very long time to carry supplies to the famine-stricken areas, and then

Railways provide employment for Indians.

Railways are not always constructed for trading purposes.

they could be taken only in a small quantity. But the greatest obstacle in those days was that the bullocks, donkeys, and ponies required grass and fodder which was not available in the famine region, and this fact discouraged the use of pack animals for this purpose. All these difficulties have now been surmounted by the railways.

There is yet another class of railways constructed in the northern hilly regions, and used for defensive purposes against an invasion. These are costly but do not pay. But they are helping to civilise the wild tribes through whose country they pass. Many of my countrymen grumble that the facility of transport due to railways has led to the export of Indian grain to other countries. Had all the produce of the country, they say, remained in the country, the troubles of famines and drought could have been avoided. The fact is that during famine time grain is *not* exported from India, because the owner can sell it in his own country at higher rates than are expected from a foreign customer. Grain is exported only when the harvests are plentiful, and this is done by owners to secure larger profits by the sale. If they were not induced by personal gain, they would never have taken the trouble of sending their grain to distant lands. The owners are evidently under no pressure to export the produce of their land. They do so voluntarily, actuated by self-interest. It is extremely selfish on our part that owing to our unjustifiable desire to purchase grain cheaper, we should dislike the exporting owners, or their foreign customers or the railways. Every

Complaint against the
export of grain.

servant desires an increase in his monthly salary, and every landowner is, in the same way, naturally anxious to secure the highest prices for the produce of his land. He will surely send his produce to the most favourable market. He has a right to profit himself as much as practicable by the out-turn of his labour. Then again the same railways also bring to us, for our use, our requirements from other countries, and supply us commodities at rates cheaper than obtained locally.

If export of grain to foreign countries is altogether stopped, the motive to produce more grain than is actually required to satisfy local demand would disappear. No cultivator is likely to be persuaded to purchase more seed grain at an extra cost to himself, and plough more land by working harder, in order to produce more grain, simply with the generous object of either selling it cheaper to his neighbours, or storing and preserving it in his own house to save the population of a famine-stricken region from starvation in some future year of drought.

If any wealthy patriot is willing to practise benevolence, the only way to assist his countrymen is to purchase large stores of grain at the harvest time at rates offered by foreign customers, and to sell them at a light rate of profit. This process would be equally profitable to all parties, the cultivator, the other inhabitants of the locality and to the patriot capitalist, when the whole grain produce will, in this way, be retained in the country, trade competition will necessitate cheaper sale and the Indian capitalists, too, will earn sufficient amounts even at a light rate of interest on their invest-

ment. But the chief condition which must stand is that the good-intentioned capitalist should transact this business solely with the object of helping his countrymen, and not to fill his own coffers with gold at the expense of his fellow countrymen—otherwise what is the advantage of preferring a local customer to a foreign dealer. If larger amounts enter the iron safes of a few Indian professional speculators, the money may remain in India, but experience shows that it is of no practical use to the society or to the country. The broad fact that the Government was compelled to employ foreign capital on Indian railways, distinctly shows that the hoarded wealth of India did not prove of any practical value to the country.

If our capitalists cannot see their way to help in improving the resources of their own country, it is no use lamenting over grain exports or blaming the railways. It is absolutely unfair on our part, who are either in service, or follow a profession other than agriculture, to grudge the considerable profit which accrues to Indian landholders and cultivators by the export of grain. The exported grain must necessarily sell at prices higher than prevailing in India, and extra profit thus secured would go to the pockets of the owners who are Indians. How unjust—nay—how selfish it is to lament over a neighbour's gain.

CHAPTER VII.

IMPROVED MEANS OF COMMUNICATION.

(I) THE POST OFFICE.

Previous to the year 1837, no organised and regular public postal system existed in India. From the head-

quarters of the provinces, official letters or parcels were carried to other important towns by messengers or camel riders. But there was no such arrangement for the public.

If a son was away from home, his parents wished to hear how he was, and he, too, naturally wished to know about his parents. One or the other might have important news to communicate. A son or father sometimes fell dangerously ill, and the presence of the one or the other was required. In all such cases a runner had to be found to carry letters, or a friend going in that direction was requested to convey it to the addressee. Poorer persons had to wait till several of them could jointly manage to engage a runner to take their letters in a particular direction. Thus there was expense, loss of time, and uncertainty of a letter reaching its destination. The great advantages of the present postal system are thus apparent.

In England, too, in early times, both public and private letters were sent only by special messengers or friends. Till 1840, the postal charges were high, varying according to distance. A letter to any place not exceeding 15 miles distant was charged 4 annas (4*d.* and under 300 miles the charge was 12 annas (12*d.*). Uniform penny postage system was adopted in England in 1840, and all letters below 4 oz. can now be sent in England for a penny (one anna).

Government postal system. Government postal system was introduced in India in the year 1837. Originally postal rates varied with weight and distance.

A letter, for instance, from Calcutta to Bombay was charged one rupee for one tola. The

charge per letter of one tola from Calcutta to Agra was 12 annas (12d). Postage was realised beforehand in cash. In 1854-5 uniform postage was introduced irrespective of distance, and postage stamps came in use for the first time. The sphere of usefulness of the postal system was subsequently extended, and the post office gradually undertook to deal with registered, insured and value-payable letters, packets and parcels, money orders and savings bank.

The Indian postal system has several unique merits. In their own country the English people have not yet been able to bring down the postage on letters to below one penny (one anna). There a post card costs a half penny ($\frac{1}{2}$ anna). The Indian postage rates, however, are the cheapest in the world. A letter weighing one tola now travels safely for half anna ($\frac{1}{2}$ d) and a post card for a quarter of an anna ($\frac{1}{4}$ d.), over a distance of 3,000 miles from Quetta in Baluchistan to Bhamo (on the borders of China) by road, rail, river and ocean. Such facilities of exchanging news about the health and well-being of relatives and friends living in distant places were never enjoyed before in India.

In 1855 there were 645 post offices in India and the mails were conveyed over 30,000 miles. In 1918 there were 19,410 post offices and 50,000 post boxes, and over 250,000 miles of postal route. There is now not a village of any importance which has not got a post office. Where there is not a post office, there is a post box, so that no locality with any population to boast of now lacks postal facilities. The boon that the postal system has been to

Unique merits of
Indian postal system.

Postal Statistics.

the country may be appreciated from the fact that 1,000 million registered, and unregistered letters and post cards, 55 million newspapers, 45 million packets and 15 million parcels passed through the post office during the year 1918. The same year the post office issued 35 million money orders of the value of 755 million rupees, and realised for the traders 145 million rupees by transmitting value-payable parcels. Three million parcels were insured for the amount exceeding 900 million rupees. Besides these transactions, the post office sold 216 maunds of quinine, at nominal price, to the villagers, to protect them from fever, and sold postage stamps worth $32\frac{1}{4}$ million rupees.

The postal savings bank has helped our people to deposit their pettiest savings and to earn a fair interest thereon. It is thus teaching them to be thrifty as is shown by the fact that on 31st March 1918, 1,637,600 savings bank accounts were open, the total value of deposits being 165 million rupees.

The total number of postal employés in the year 1918, including officers, clerks, postmen and runners exceeded 108,000.

Establishment and their difficulties.

The envelopes and post cards bore addresses in 30 different languages. Sometimes envelopes are very small and the address illegibly written but so wonderful is the postal organisation that letters punctually reach their destination. Surely no private company could have possibly managed such postal transactions at such a cheap cost. One has only to pay a visit to such a postal centre as the General Post Office at Calcutta or Bombay, to be impressed by the fact that

the pitch of enthusiasm, excellence, and speed with which our increased postal business is carried on is beyond all praise.

The advantages of the post office are three-fold.

When the mail does not arrive at the proper time,	It adds to the public convenience, it promotes trade, and it helps the Government in properly conducting the administration of the country.
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The Government, therefore, attaches the greatest importance to all postal arrangements of which punctuality is the most prominent feature. The train conveying the mails is given preference to all other trains which are required to stop and let it pass. We realise the postal blessing of the British rule when the post, for some accident, does not arrive in a town, at the proper time. There is a bustle in the whole town, and the post office is surrounded by men of all classes constantly enquiring if the mail had arrived.

(2) THE TELEGRAPH.

In 1858 when the Crown took over the administration of India, there were only 3,000 miles of single telegraph wires and a few score of telegraph offices. In the year 1918, there were 87,714 miles of telegraph line with 347,906 miles of wire and about 11,000 telegraph offices through which 20 million messages were transmitted.

Telegraph system is essential for the maintenance of efficient administration of the country, for the advancement of trade, and for the existence of railways. The number of messages that daily pass over the telegraphic wires is enormous, at a cost within the reach

of the poorest. Telegraphs have for all practical purposes annihilated distance, and one can get news of a friend or of business in an hour's time, from any part of India. Calcutta and Bombay merchants may now ascertain the daily fluctuations of other busy markets by means of telegraphs, and need not lose good bargains by waiting for days for a reply by post. We have grown so much accustomed to the facilities of communication, that we shirk even from thinking what could be the state of business if the posts and telegraphs were stopped and closed even for a short time. Payment also may now be made by wire within an hour to the farthest corner of India—the cost of such remittances being only the usual telegraphic fee and the prescribed postal money order commission both of which are very cheap. Millions of rupees are sent by telegraphic money orders every year. How beneficial the postal and telegraphic systems have been to our countrymen is proved by the fact that their activity is increasing beyond calculation, year by year, in every department of their work. Calcutta can get news from London almost as soon as it can from Bombay—a marvel which sounds like a dream of the Arabian nights, or a fancy of the mythical age. No corresponding facilities of communication ever existed in India in pre-British times.

Till recently an expensive installation has been necessary for establishing tele-
 Wireless telegraphy. graphic communication. We almost
 daily notice on both the sides of the
 railway line, series of metallic telegraph posts and the
 metallic wires connecting them, which must have cost
 a good deal. The European scientists have now

invented a system of wireless telegraphy by which news are exchanged without the intervening telegraph posts and wires. About 20 wireless installations have been set up by the Government of India at Rangoon, Calcutta, Bombay, Madras, Karachi, Delhi, Simla, Allahabad, Peshawar, and other places; and more are being erected each year. This system of wireless telegraphy is most advantageously used in ships while sailing in different parts of the ocean. The ships can easily exchange news with any part of the world.

(3) TELEPHONE.

The scientists are never satisfied with any invention howsoever great, and always keep their brains busy to discover something better. To flash or receive news by telegraph, special training was necessary and every lay person could not make out the meaning of the monotonous telegraphic ticks. They have now invented telephone, a contrivance similar to telegraph, through which messages can be sent by the voice. No matter what the distance is between two persons, they can converse through telephone as if they were talking face to face, the man at each end recognising the voice of the other. Thus a man at Delhi can now talk in his own language, as long as he likes, with a friend at Calcutta, Simla, Lahore, Bombay, or Peshawar. Telephone exchanges have been established, under licenses from Government, by private companies at Calcutta, Bombay, Madras, Rangoon, Ahmadabad, Karachi, and Moulmein. Elsewhere the telephones are managed by the Telegraph Department. At the end of the year 1917, there were 251 telephonic exchanges and

20,163 connections owned and established by the Government and the companies. Human skill is now controlling natural forces, and one cannot conceive what fantastic marvels are yet in store for us.

CHAPTER VIII.

TRADE AND MANUFACTURE.

Three things are necessary for the material progress of a country, *viz.*, (1) capital, (2) labour, and (3) professional skill. There is no lack of capital and labour in India but educated and trained industrial and commercial experts are not available here. The additional obstacle to our industrial progress is that our Indian bankers and capitalists are not at all accustomed to invest their money on any large scale in productive works. They would part with their money only at a heavy rate of interest, varying from 12 to 75 per cent and money borrowed at such a high rate of interest would hardly pay if utilised in any commercial or industrial enterprise.

Seventy-five per cent of the Indian population depends upon agriculture and this

Capital at cheap rate of interest essential for material progress.

business does not yield more than 4 or 5 per cent on the capital employed. The money invested in

the railways and canals and other industrial undertakings also yields more or less a similar rate of profit. Under the circumstances it is no good to borrow money at a rate of interest which is at best double the expected rate of profit from the proposed investment. The rate at which private capital is advanced in India is fatal to all successful enterprise. Unless the Indian capitalist learns to freely and unstintedly invest his capital for a

cheap rate of profit, proper industrial and commercial progress of the country is not practicable. The employment of foreign capital in such a case is unavoidable, and the interest on this capital must go outside India. Scarcity of local capital thus retards the development of the material resources of India. As regards technical skill and experience, neither capital nor labour is serviceable in the absence thereof. On account of the difficulties peculiar to India, there are comparatively very few industrial and trade centres, and so arrangements for practical business training are not, for the present, so easy here as in England.

The most convenient and profitable way for us Indians to invest our money in any productive work is first to secure the services of a foreign expert, as professional experts are not locally available. I once visited the great kerosine oil factory at Rangoon, which is worked entirely by Indian capital, but is managed by skilled Englishmen, who are loyally devoted to their work. This factory managed by paid foreign experts annually yields a handsome percentage of profit to the proprietors. We have grown so much accustomed to Government initiation that we seldom venture to start any business on our own account, and then we complain that the Government does not wish to employ Indian capital on any industrial concern.

The complaint against the attitude of the Indian Government about ignoring Indian capital and discouraging local industries reminds us of an instructive story: In days gone by a king

Need of employment
of foreign experts.

Nature of our com-
plaint of the Govern-
ment exemplified—a
story.

used to daily visit a hermit and to complain to him that the world had been holding him fast and did not leave him, and so he solicited the hermit to use his spiritual force in somehow freeing him from the worldly grasp. After repeated appeals from the king the hermit promised him the boon applied for the next morning. The king on returning to the hermit, on the promised morning, was greatly surprised to find the hermit embracing the trunk of a tree with both his arms and wildly shouting for help that the tree had caught hold of him. The king respectfully pointed out to the hermit that it was not the lifeless tree that had caught hold of him but that it was he himself who was holding fast the tree, and that if he simply loosened his grasp and let go his hands he will be quite free. The hermit meaningly smiled and told the king that he had himself devised the proper cure for his own complaint. "It was not the world," said the hermit, "that was catching hold of the king, but it was the king that was hugging the world, and it simply required *will* power on the part of the king to shake it off." Exactly the same is our situation in relation to the material progress of our country. Industrial development of India depends upon ourselves; our hands are not tied and we have every liberty to invest our capital in any local industry, to pay for expert advice and take the initiative and then go on developing it. The solitary example of the Tatas is there to show what can be done with iron industry alone.

If the Indian capitalists secure expert advice and regularly pay for it, and then profitably employ their capital, there is none to bar them from doing so-

Indian capital can be profitably employed.

There is ample room for improvement in our agricultural business. We can, for instance, profitably invest our money in improved agricultural implements, purchase of better seed, and manufacture of artificial manure. Many parts of India are thinly populated. There are tracts where population averages 5 persons per square mile against the average of 800 per mile in other fertile and prosperous regions. If sufficient capital is employed to provide means of irrigation in these thinly populated areas, and they are colonised by emigrants from overpopulated regions, it will not only enrich the colonist, but will be beneficial in relieving the pressure from thickly populated areas. There is much room for railway extension, and the Government is always in need of big loans for the execution of its programme of railways and canals, and it invariably offers a fair rate of interest on the borrowed capital. Indian capitalists in lending money for such purposes not only benefit themselves but indirectly assist in the development of the resources of our country. Paper mills are now in great demand. More than $2\frac{1}{2}$ million maunds of paper was annually used in India, of which only one-third was manufactured here and two-thirds was imported from outside. The great European war stopped the import of paper which greatly increased the outturn of the Indian paper mills and many more mills were started. But the supply of paper is still inadequate and the cost of paper has, therefore, gone very high. The country will welcome any number of new paper mills. Indian capital can also profitably be employed in the extension of jute cultivation and coal mining. But such undertakings require courage,

patience, business methods, and mutual trust. It has been estimated that there are 30 million sheep in India, which at the rate of two pounds per sheep yield 60 million pounds of wool. If for trading purposes these sheep are better nurtured and properly looked after, each sheep can yield six pounds of wool. In the year 1918, 44 million pounds of wool was exported from India which at the present rate of one rupee per pound fetched only 44 million rupees. By taking better care of our sheep and spending some capital over them we can add 90 million every year to India's wealth only from this single source. Our ignorant shepherds fleece their sheep twice a year and the quantity of wool per sheep, therefore, does not exceed ten or twelve ounces. In other countries sheep are fleeced only once a year, and for this reason the wool fibres are longer and the quantity yielded is much larger.

India produces everything that we need for our food and drink, and we do not import

Of food articles India only imports foreign sugar.

from outside any food articles except sugar. In the year 1918, sugar worth 153½ million rupees was

imported into India and there is consequently great room for the extension of sugarcane cultivation, which only requires capital and expert advice. If some Indian capitalists take heart and combine, they can arrange for an increased produce of sugar to meet the existing demand, thereby securing the profit which goes to foreign sugar exporters. If some leading zamindars secure the service of a trained English agriculturist for this purpose the Government has no reason to stand in the way

What, however, is lacking, is the power of initiation and organisation.

In the Kolar district of the Mysore State the gold mines were left ignored for centuries, and none tried to profit by them. The English capitalists in India at last sent for expert engineers from England to teach mining work to the Indians. They got all necessary mechanical plant and appliances and started the work. These gold-fields now provide means of livelihood for the families of hundreds of thousands of Indians and produce gold worth millions. These gold mines yield 650 thousand ounces of gold (more than 500 maunds) every year, and this quantity lay absolutely idle for centuries in pre-British times. The characteristic of the English capitalist is that he is not afraid of risking his money, whether the work eventually proves productive or not, he fearlessly employs his money. The foreign capitalists may win or lose, work is certainly provided for the Indians who readily avail themselves of any new means of earning their livelihood. The Mysore State spends nothing upon these mines, but only gets a royalty of Rs. 17,00,000 every year from the mining company according to the terms of agreement.

The Englishmen have similarly employed their capital to the extent of thousands of millions on iron and coal mines of India, and on the cultivation and manufacture of cotton, indigo, jute, tea, coffee, and silk. They profit themselves as well as benefit the Indians. Before the English came here,

Kolar gold-fields in Mysore lying idle for centuries.

India benefited by hundreds of mills and factories worked by British capital.

nobody paid any attention to the local coal mines, nor there were any skilled engineers who could have undertaken the work. The Indian coal mines occupy 35,000 square miles which are estimated to contain six billion maunds of coal. A few years before, the coal required for steamers, railways, and factories was imported from England, Australia, or Japan. But the coal mines of Bengal and other places worked by 200,000 Indians now supply 500 million maunds of coal every year; and Indian coal is now used almost for all local consumption. Cultivation of tea was started in 1830. Skilled men were sent for from China, who taught the cultivation of tea to the Indians. Now India supplies all the tea consumed by Great Britain, and is considered to be of the finest quality. British capitalists initiated industries in India and they were gradually taken up by the Indians. This is strikingly the case with the mill industry of Bombay, where Parsi, Hindu, and Mahomedan traders now own many thriving mills. These mills owned by the Indians are not confined to Bombay, but exist in many other towns. In the early part of the 19th century no demands existed for Indian manufactures excepting Dacca muslin, dyes, and pottery, but thanks to the enterprise of Englishmen who have shown us such brilliant examples of what can be done by joint stock enterprise and organisation, the expansion of trade in India has been such that it can now take rank with some of the most prosperous industrial countries in the world. In the year 1917 there were 263 steam driven cotton mills which daily gave employment to 300,000 Indians. Indian made cloth is used in India itself and is also exported to China, Japan, and other Asiatic countries. So long

s handlooms were in use, India could successfully compete with the world and her cotton cloths were sold largely in Britain under the name of calicoes, etc. In 1785 an Englishman invented a weaving machine to be driven by steam. By means of it one workman could produce far more cloth in a day than 12 men with handlooms. The immediate effect was a great fall in the price of cloth. Weavers who continued to use handlooms were reduced to poverty, as they could no longer obtain the same rates for their goods. Cotton grown in India is now shipped to England, made into cloth, sent back to India, and is sold cheaper than when woven into cloth by handlooms on the spot where it grew, and Indians therefore prefer it. The Indian cotton mills usually turn out cheaper material fit for the poorer classes.

Gunny bags were formerly imported into India from outside. They are now made in Bengal. There were 67 jute mills in the country in the year 1917, giving employment to 300,000 Indians. In the year 1911, there were 7,113 factories in India, including cotton mills, woollen mills, silk mills, jute mills, flour mills, oil mills, rice mills, paper mills, saw mills, sugar factories, soap factories, rope works, iron foundries, tanneries, collieries, pottery works, railway workshops, ship building yards and for other industries. Of these 7,113 factories of which 4,569 were worked by steam engines, provided means of livelihood for $2\frac{1}{2}$ millions of poor Indians, whose family members are not included in these figures. Of these 825,000 worked in tea, coffee, and indigo plantations, 575,000 were employed in cotton

Growing industries
of India.

and jute mills, 250,000 in coal, gold, and other mines and the remaining number of persons worked in other factories.

Impressed by the example of English capitalists and their business methods, Indians

Example of British capitalists favourably impressed the Indians.

too, have now begun to realise that it is more to their advantage to employ their money in the deve-

lopment of local industries than to bury it underground or convert it into ornaments, and that by encouraging industries they profit personally and also render useful service to their country. Ten per cent of the population of Calcutta now depend on jute and other factories, cotton mills of Bombay and Ahmadabad maintain 15 per cent, while the rice mills of Rangoon support 11 per cent. The paper now used in Government institutions is mostly the product of Indian mills. Raw hides and skins were formerly exported from India to England to be converted into leather, but many tanneries have now been established in India, and leather is now made in this country. Now industrial factories are thus gradually springing up in our country in large numbers, and the great industrial cities—Calcutta, Bombay, Madras, and Rangoon—proudly proclaim the extraordinary industrial and commercial development which India has achieved during the British rule. Calcutta and Bombay, the two commercial capitals of India, are essentially the creations of British rule. It is justly pointed out that there is more accumulated wealth held by Indians in these two cities of British India, which a couple of centuries ago were mud hamlets, than all the treasures of the imperial and local courts under the Mughal Empire.

Between the years 1835 and 1839 the annual imports of India averaged 75 million rupees, and the annual exports 115 millions, that is the foreign trade of India amounted to 190 millions; whereas in the year 1917-18 India imported goods worth 1,640 millions and earned 2,450 millions by her exports. The total imports and exports in one year thus exceeded 4,000 millions. It will be seen that India has more to sell to the world than she requires to buy from it. In the year quoted above, India, after making over its staples in payment for all that it purchased from other countries, sold 810 millions worth more of its produce to foreign countries, realising the price in cash and thus adding during the year about 1,000 millions to the capital of the country. Out of this cash value of the excess of exports over imports; India received gold and silver worth 360 millions. Greater details of the import of gold and silver into India are given in chapter XVII—"The growing wealth of India." The above figures do not include articles imported on Government account; they only represent private commercial transactions.

The imports generally consist of cotton and woollen goods, cotton yarn, sugar, tobacco, machinery, metals, minerals, medicines, silk, oil, glass and manufactures, hardware, liquors, dyes, books, motor cars, bicycles, and railway plant.

The chief exports are raw cotton and wool, cotton goods, yarn, food grains, hides, and skins, jute raw and manufactured, lac, opium, indigo, tea, and coffee.

Of all the imports of the year 1917-18, 565 millions worth of cotton goods and yarn came from England, Japan, America, and Holland, and 150 millions worth of sugar came from outside. The quantity of imported sugar was smaller this year on account of the great war, the pre-war annual average import being $17\frac{1}{2}$ million maunds or half as much again as was imported this year. The annual average cost of imported railway plant is 60 millions. The exports for the same year consisted of cotton and cotton goods and yarn worth 560 millions, food grains worth 540 millions, tea worth 180 millions, hide and skins 50 millions, wool 40 millions, jute raw and manufactured 425 millions. The annual cost of opium exported before the war averaged 100 millions.

During the year 1917-18, of the cotton, cotton goods and yarn exported from India, 16 per cent was supplied to other British possessions, 71 per cent was absorbed by Japan, and the rest went to America, Italy, France, Spain, and China. Indian yarn mostly goes to China. This year the outturn of India cotton mills consisted of shirt cloth, longcloth, dhotis, bed-sheets, and drill, all measuring 1,615 million yards, of which 190 million yards of cloth was exported, that is, 13 per cent more than the total amount of cloths imported during the year from Lancashire (England), was exported from India to other countries.

Some of our countrymen think that India is getting poorer because her exports exceed the imports. This is, however, no test of wealth. Many other things require to be taken into considera-

Is the excess of exports over imports injurious to the country.

tion. The United States of America and England are the two richest countries in the world. The exports of the former, like those of India, exceed the imports whereas the contrary is the case with England. As a matter of fact when the products of a country secure higher prices in foreign lands, the farmers of that country are naturally inclined to increase their produce for purposes of export and are thereby enriched. When India sells more goods every year than it buys, and realises the price of the excess in cash, surely there is much larger aggregate of capital in the country—a much greater national reserve or staying power.

It is wrong to suppose that if the export of food grains was altogether stopped, all the grain that was annually exported to foreign countries would stuff the Indian markets and sell cheaper. Prospects of large exports are incentive to the farmers to increase the produce of their land.

The fact is that if there were no prospect of large exports fetching higher prices, the farmers would not care to produce more than the actual local demand. The great motive power that has brought about changes in all ages, in all countries and among all classes of men, has also changed the ways of our husbandman. What pays will have its way. Foreign trade has conferred an exchangeable value on various results of labour which they did not possess before, or possessed only in a limited degree, or in other words, foreign trade, converted those things into wealth which were not wealth before, or were wealth of a lesser value. Butte had practically no exchangeable value before ; it has been converted into gold by mere touch of foreign trade. Up to 1850 cotton was produced on a small

scale in India, and the total value of exported cotton averaged during the previous five years only $26\frac{1}{2}$ million rupees. Ten years later the American war gave rise to a sudden demand, and the Indian exports rushed up, till in 1865 they exceeded the enormous value of $667\frac{1}{2}$ millions. This vast amount of money went into the pockets of the cultivators, who, the moment they had found a more profitable crop than their old food staple, quickly began to cultivate it on a large scale. Even for several years after the Mutiny there was no steam-driven cotton mill in India, whereas the cotton and jute mills with more than 150,000 looms are now being worked by steam in this country. This, of course, is the result of foreign trade. What the American War was to the Bombay peasant, the Russian War had been to the Bengal husbandman. The blockade of the Baltic ports put an end to Great Britain's supply of fibres from Russia during the Crimean Campaign. Forthwith the Bengal peasant enormously increased his production of jute. In the year 1852-53, before the Crimean War, the whole export jute from Bengal was about $1\frac{1}{2}$ millions. In 1872-73 it exceeded $63\frac{3}{4}$ millions, an increase of more than fortyfold. Before the recent great war the jute exports averaged 425 millions. When the German supply of indigo was recently stopped during the war, its cultivation similarly attracted much greater attention of Indian farmers and the produce and export of this dye-stuff from India was consequently much accelerated. I personally know the case of an individual landholder of the Aligarh district who by additional cultivation of indigo, during the war, earned a profit of three hundred thousand rupees in one

year. Exactly the same is the case with grain. If prospect of its export disappear, the quantity of grain produce is sure to decrease, as lack of incentive will be a bar to its extensive cultivation. When the English obtained Calcutta, it consisted of three mud hamlets, scarcely raised above the river slime, without any trade whatsoever. After a century and a half of British rule the total value of the sea-borne trade of Calcutta alone exceeds 200 millions ! These figures are so great, and the material progress which they indicate is so enormous that they elude the grasp of imagination. All this is the result of foreign trade and to a great extent the outcome of British rule and British capital. The British rule gave peace to the country, and provided unprecedented means of communication and transport by land and sea which unusually facilitated commercial progress. If foreign trade had not developed there could have been no source of the growing imports of annual treasure from outside, and the consequent increase of the wealth of India.

CHAPTER IX.

AGRICULTURAL PROGRESS.

As has been pointed out before, India is a purely agricultural country, and more than 75 per cent of its population are dependant upon land. But strange as it may appear, the fact is that the people have never employed their capital for the development of this most important industry of their country. Before the British rule no attempt was ever made on any large scale to provide ample means of irrigation which

the country needed as the best safeguard against failure of rains.

Even now they are not used to build any houses

The Indian farmer is the victim of antiquated customs and prejudices.

barns, or sheds in or near their lands under cultivation, to store or protect grain from wind and rains; and one slight shower of rain soon

after the harvest occasionally spoils the outturn of the whole year's labour. The farmers employ the same sort of plough to turn over the soil as was used thousands of years ago, and which is no better than a crooked stick, and they follow exactly the same old slovenly methods of cultivation in respect of implements, cattle-breeding and manuring as were in use amongst the first Arya settlers in this country. The farmers are not accustomed to spend money in improved agricultural implements; they still separate the grain from chaff by having the heaps of the ears of corn trampled over, in open fields by their plough oxen, and then labourers winnow it in small quantities by means of winnowing fans. Such a vital question as seed selection is ignored by them. Most of them sow the seed that is handy, getting it often as loan from the shop-keeper. They do not know the use of manufactured manure, and do nothing to preserve or improve the breed of cattle. Breeding is left to chance. Healthy and diseased, mature and immature animals, herd together, and as a natural result the stock deteriorates. In short they are suspicious of innovations, and will not adopt any improvement that mean extra work. The reform of agriculture in India, therefore, presents a problem of the greatest difficulty.

Since 1872 there has been established in every province a Department of Agriculture. The Government has bestowed much greater attention to this department during the past ten years. In the year 1905, the department was worked by 150 officers and men, but its staff now consists of 866 officers and subordinates. The department seeks to educate the Indian farmer. It is first of all a bureau of information, finding out what all the cleverest farmers in the world are doing, how they get heavy crops and grow rich. It collects and circulates early information, through newspapers, and by issuing leaflets and periodicals about the crops. It tries new staples. It studies the diseases of cattle and the insect pests of plants. For this purpose it has laboratories where skilled chemists are at work. In each province there is a Veterinary Department for the prevention and cure of cattle diseases, and for the improvement of the breed of horses and cattle. Its officials travel in each district, and many veterinary dispensaries have been established. The department is always on the alert to introduce some new form of cultivation that will improve the prospects of the farmer.

It has established many experimental and model farms in each province. There the farmers can see what can be achieved by scientific farming, and how they can improve the quality and quantity of the produce of their land; and from these farms they can buy selected seed grain for their holdings at a low rate. Three hundred and seventy-four such farms are already

in existence and their number is increasing every year. The farmers can actually see here better quality of food grains and sugar cane growing in plots improved by artificial manure. They can learn here how to manufacture manure, and advantageously use improved implements.

Conferences and Agricultural shows are held where farmers can meet and see samples of superior produce of other parts of the country, and of agricultural machinery, and hear of the latest improvements in cultivation. As an encouragement to the farmers the Government award cash prizes and medals, to such of them as show any improvement in their grain produce or produce models of improved irrigation and other agricultural implements.

Schools and colleges have been established in all the provinces to teach agriculture. At Pusa, in the province of Behar there is a Central College of Agriculture, where higher scientific agriculture is being taught and which is expected in course of time to be of the greatest benefit to our vast agricultural population. Then there are Botanical gardens in Calcutta, Bombay, Ootacamund, and Saharanpur, and the Museums of Bombay, Madras, Lahore, Lucknow, Nagpur, and Rangoon.

Cattle-breeding Farms, Research Institute, and Fruit Farms are springing up throughout the land. Zamindars are now sending their sons to the schools and colleges to learn how to manage their own lands and the more intelligent farmers are ready to profit by

the advantages put at their disposal by Government. But the real problem is how to get at the peasant farming his four or five acres, and to break down his prejudice. This can only be done by time and the spread of education. It is entirely due to the efforts of the new Agricultural Department that the country now produces 135 millions worth of more grain than before. The department annually spends about $5\frac{1}{4}$ millions.

The land area of India is estimated at about 750 million acres, of which 250 million acres are under cultivation. The peoples of India are absolutely unaccustomed to migrate. Not used to leaving their homes, they are rapidly multiplying, in these peace times, in their birthplaces, with the result that the average of population in some areas has gone up to 800 per square mile, a rate of the density of population which is found nowhere else in the world; while there are other regions very thinly populated and having only five persons to the square mile. The much-talked-of poverty of the agricultural labourers is chiefly self-imposed. They will go on multiplying in the same place without migrating to thinly populated areas and breaking new soil for themselves, thus finding their livelihood and relieving the pressure from their homeland. It has already been pointed out that the farmers would not care to produce more grain than barely suffices the local needs, unless prospects of high profit induce them to increase their produce for export. It has been shown in the chapter on "Trade and Manufacture" that the cultivation of cotton and jute rapidly increased when for special reasons there was demand

for them in foreign countries, and that during the recent war when indigo was in demand in other countries, Indian outturn of indigo suddenly rose high. The bulk of Indian soil is yet lying uncultivated. If our agriculturists could only be prevailed upon to colonise in thinly populated areas, or to use improved implements and manufactured manure, the grain produce of our country may be considerably increased. But neither our farmer would leave his home, nor our money-lender or capitalist would part with his money at a cheaper rate of interest, and progress must therefore be slow.

In India cattle manure is generally used as fuel. If each farmer were to plant a few fuel trees in his holding, he would save a very large quantity of manure, and would obtain sufficient supply of firewood, besides improving the climate and affording shelter to his stock. The richest manure is that obtained from human beings; but in our country, except in a few cases, it is only allowed to poison the air.

Of all the food grains, the annual outturn of rice is the largest. In the year 1917, 80 million acres of the cultivated area were under rice, wheat occupied 25 million acres, juar 21 $\frac{4}{5}$ millions, and bajra 15 millions, each of the other grains occupying less than 10 million acres. The wheat produce in Great Britain averages 25 maunds and 24 seers per acre (2,048 lb.). The corresponding yield in the canal and well irrigated areas of Bombay is 16 maunds and 32 seers (1,344 lb.), but in areas dependent only upon rainfall, the average yield per acre in Bombay is 7 $\frac{1}{2}$ maunds (600 lb.) The average yield per acre in the canal irrigated areas of the Punjab is 24 to 27

Average grain produce.

maunds (1920 to 2,160 lb.) The outturn for the whole of the Punjab, however, averages $11\frac{1}{4}$ maunds (900 lb.). In America it averages $12\frac{1}{2}$ maunds (1,000 lb.), in France 16 maunds (1,280 lb.), in Canada $17\frac{1}{2}$ maunds (1,400 lb.).

In India, Punjab alone produces double the annual outturn of wheat in Great Britain

I personally made enquiries in the various districts of the United Provinces, and found that the minimum and maximum average yield of wheat and barley respectively was $7\frac{1}{2}$ and 25 maunds per acre (600 and 2,000 lb.). Of other food grains, the average yield per acre is calculated at $12\frac{1}{2}$ to 20 maunds for *makka*, 5 to 10 maunds for *juar*, 15 to 20 maunds for *gram*. Cotton produce per acre fetches Rs 35 to Rs. 40, while sugar cane yields a crop worth Rs 150 to Rs 500 per acre.

The net result of the whole enquiry is that the average yield of grain per acre in India is comparatively less than the corresponding average of other countries. This is due to the use of old and inferior implements, defective ploughing and insufficient and inferior manure.

Some Indian patriots think that the export of grain from India to foreign countries adversely affects the grain situation in this country. But they must keep in

The export of grain
not peculiar to India

mind that the many countries, which are not agricultural like India, depend upon imported grain, which must come from other countries. If other countries sell their grain to supply the demand of industrial countries, it is no new thing for India to do the same. We so much think of our grain produce simply because we are purely agricultural people, and more than three-fourths of us

live on agriculture. In England 58 per cent are employed on industries, 14 per cent live on private service, and only 8 per cent depend upon agriculture.

In industrial countries food grains are scarce and therefore, usually sell dearer. But the people of these places do not feel the higher prices on account of their large income. In Calcutta and Bombay, for instance, wheat flour sells generally at about 3 to 4 seers per rupee, but the inhabitants of these places earn higher daily wages and get more money, and are used to the high prices of food-stuffs. During the past 50 years the daily wages of labourers, coolies, masons, carpenters, etc., has more than doubled and even in some cases trebled the older rates of wages, while the demand for labour is daily growing on account of the extension of roads, buildings, railways, and irrigation works, the development of industries and commerce, and consequent accumulation of capital. The labourer who formerly earned two annas or three annas a day (2*d.* or 3*d.*) can now easily earn five or six annas daily (5*d.* or 6*d.*) and at the harvest time the agricultural labourer now ordinarily earns twelve annas a day (one shilling) * In

* The value of a rupee (the Indian silver coin) and of its fractions, although constant in this country, is for the purpose of calculation in foreign countries, subject to modifications corresponding to the fluctuations in the rate of exchange. For instance, one anna (1/16th of a rupee) was worth 2*d.* and nearly 3*d.* a short time ago, while at the present rate of exchange it is slightly more than 1*d.*, and thus the anna is always of more value in India than the mere exchange value would indicate. It is merely for the sake of convenience that I have supposed one anna = 1*d.* in this book.

When pointing to the rise in wages, I say the labourer now easily earns five or six annas daily, I should be taken to mean not only that the wages have now doubled themselves, but that they are actually more than 5*d.* or 6*d.* a day. In fact these figures represent wage

villages the daily wages of coolies varies from four to eight annas, while in towns and at railway stations the coolies and porters earn from twelve annas to three rupees per day. The increased rates of their daily wages enable even the poorer classes to buy food at a higher cost, and it is, therefore, that private servants on smaller salaries are not available now, and we do not meet with that unusual clamour, we used to hear 20 years ago, when wheat sold at ten seers per rupee as against the present prevailing rate of six seers a rupee

CHAPTER X.

PROGRESS OF IRRIGATION.

The irrigation works constructed by the British Government are the greatest in the world, and constitute noble monuments of its rule. India being chiefly an agricultural country, irrigation systems of one kind or another have always been in use.

Wells originally formed the most general system of watering lands, and are found more or less all over the country. Water was raised from the wells in large leathern buckets drawn by bullocks, and the same method which was employed a thousand years ago, is generally used even now. The Government has done everything possible to encourage the digging of wells, and in many instances has constructed them. For

rates of the year 1919 when the book was originally drafted, they have now gone up to twelve annas or more than one shilling a day.

One maund is equal to 40 seers which equals 80 lb. (avoird.)

One acre „ about 5 Indian Bighas.

One million „ 10 lacs.

Ten millions „ 1 crore.

many years past, it has assisted cultivators to construct them by lending them money at a low rate of interest. Some 300,000 wells are still in use for irrigation. In southern India reservoirs known as tanks have been employed for irrigation from early times. In most cases they are hollows in the ground partly excavated; others have been formed by the construction of dams of masonry or earth across the outlets of valleys in the hills. They are fed sometimes by rivers, sometimes by the rainfall. They vary in size from ponds irrigating a few acres to lakes several miles in circumference. Madras alone maintains 40,000 such tanks for purposes of irrigation. In north India, the first canal mentioned is that of Firozshah, about 1351 A. D. Water was drawn off from the Jumna to supply his palace at Hissar, a new city which he founded on the edge of the desert. Two hundred years later, it was reopened by Akbar. About 1628, Ali Mardan Khan, the Engineer of Shahjahan, took off a large canal from the Jumna to bring water to Delhi. Another canal went to the north-west. During the trouble that followed the breaking-up of the Moghal Empire, the canals silted up and became useless.

The present canal system is the creation of the

Government within the past two

Modern irrigation
works.

generations. In the year 1817, the

British Government began to restore

the old irrigation canals and to construct many others.

In northern India, the Ganges canals are the greatest

irrigation works in the world. At one place the canal

has to be carried by an aqueduct over the bed of a river,

two miles wide. The length of the main channels

exceed 1,000 miles, and there are more than 5,000 miles of distributaries. In one year of drought the value of the crops raised by the canal equalled its entire cost. In the Punjab we have the finest example of successful irrigation and colonisation that the world can show to-day. The Chenab Canal, which may fitly be included in the wonders of the world, has converted an arid and trackless waste of two million and a half acres, inhabited by a few wretchedly clad and ill fed wild men of the wood, into what has been with good reason called "the Garden of the Punjab." In 1892 its population was 1,00,000, to-day it supports in comfort 11,00,000 Indians. Its annual crop is worth over 70 millions, and it annually exports $8\frac{1}{2}$ million maunds of wheat. The Government is gradually spreading a net-work of canals in places which have been subject to droughts, and through these canals a vast amount of labour has been saved and parched plains, with only a few stunted thorn bushes, have been converted into blooming fields, sustaining a dense and thriving population. The *ryots* have not only been enriched by them but are protected from famine and loss of cattle which drought always caused.

The Punjab and Sind depend for their very life

upon canal irrigation inasmuch as

Sind and Punjab
canals.

98 per cent of the area cultivated

in these two provinces depend upon

canal water. Altogether an immense tract of country, which used to remain barren, has now been converted into a veritable grainary of luxuriant crops. Forty years ago, the area under tillage in the Punjab was less than 20 million acres, and of this only about 7 million acres

were protected by irrigation. Now the area under tillage is over 30 millions and of this some 14 millions are protected. The gross agricultural produce of the Punjab is at least 50 per cent more than it was forty years go, and double what it was when the country became British territory.

On account of the extensive irrigation done by the Chenab and Jhelum canals and their distributaries, the Government took steps to colonise the barren and thinly populated areas of the Punjab. In 1891, for instance, the Lyallpur district was an arid waste with a scanty population of seven persons to a square mile. When the district was fertilised by canal irrigation, cultivators flocked to the place, and the population rose to 187 per square mile. In 1911 it grew still denser and was found 272 per square mile, and the whole barren tract has now turned into a prosperous colony.

At the end of the year 1916-17, altogether there were in India 66,200 miles of canals and their distributaries, irrigating about 30 million acres, the total cost of the canals amounting to 712½ millions.

During the year 1917-18, 230 million acres were cultivated, of which about 50 millions received water from all public irrigation works.

Irrigation by means of canals	...	2,88,00,000	acres.
" " " wells	...	1,20,00,000	"
" " " tanks	...	72,00,000	"
Total area irrigated	..	4,80,00,000	"

The value of the crops scoured by State irrigation works was estimated at 920 millions. In a year of

drought or famine, the money value of the benefit conferred by these works is much greater. Nine-tenths of the irrigation from the great canals, most of the protection afforded by embankments, nearly all the navigation canals, and about two-thirds of the irrigation from minor sources, are due to works which have been carried out during the past fifty years.

The Sarda canal project for Oudh is under the consideration of the Government. On completion it will surpass all the achievements of the past, and will prove the greatest irrigation work ever undertaken in any part of the world.

It will irrigate eight million acres and its cost is estimated at 65 millions. There are further bold projects, before the Government, of the extension of canal system in the Punjab, Sind, and Madras, which, when completed, will annually irrigate eleven million more acres, at a cost of construction amounting to 480 millions. If Indian capitalists could see their way to advance this money to the Government on an easy rate of interest, and urge on the completion of the proposed canal programme, they can, with considerable profit to themselves, confer permanent blessings on their country, securing it for ever from the horrors of famine.

The Ganges and the Jumna canals in northern India, and the Indus canals in the Punjab, have permanently saved a large part of both these provinces from drought and famine. Similarly in southern India, new sources of water-supply and irrigation have enriched even the most poverty-stricken districts of Madras.

Future programme of
canals.

Danger of famine
averted.

Failure of rainfall and drought lose their sting in regions crossed by canals.

CHAPTER XI.

REDUCTION OF THE LAND REVENUE

The British system of land revenue has been the object of much hostile criticism and many reckless statements. One writer has gone so far as to have stated that "over a great part of India, the Government wring from the peasants 75 per cent of the yield of the land." The following facts, however, will show that the charge so lightly levelled by irresponsible people is unfair, and that as a matter of fact no Government of India has taken so small a share in the profits of the soil as taken by the British Government.

We must keep in mind that from time immemorial, a share of the produce of the land has always been taken by all the Kings and Emperors of India. As to the proportion of the ruler's share in the produce of the land in ancient times we have the late Mr. R. C. Dutt's tes-

Mr. R. C. Dutt's testimony, a more reliable authority than testimony,

whom in such matters can hardly be pointed out.* In his presidential address at Lucknow in 1899 he said: "The Old Hindu Law, based on the actual experience of thousands of years, sanctioned one-sixth of the gross produce of the land as its proper rent." History, however, says that previous to the settlement of the year 1582, the ruler's share was fixed at half or even more than half of the gross produce.

The object of Akbar's revenue system was to obtain a correct measurement of Akbar's rate of land revenue, the land, to ascertain the amount

of the produce of each unit of land and to fix the Government demand. For the first object he introduced a uniform standard of measurement. He also improved the instrument of mensuration, and took steps to make a complete measurement of all the culturable lands of the Empire, which were divided into three classes according to their productiveness. The amount of each sort of produce yielded by a unit of each class was ascertained. The average of three years was assumed to be the produce of a unit, and one-third (33 per cent) of such produce formed the Government demand. The quantity of produce due to the Government being settled, it was commuted into money payment. All these settlements were made for ten years, because the annual system proved vexatious and expensive.

According to Mr. R. C. Dutt, the ruler's proper share was one-sixth (17 per cent) of the gross produce of the land. Additional taxes according to the laws of Manu. But it should be borne in mind, that Manu's Code, in addition to the tax on land, sanctions further taxation of one-sixth on meat, honey, perfumed substances used for flavouring food, flowers, roots, and fruits. This led to about a hundred taxes which were in force before the British became rulers of this country. The following is a list of them:—Taxes on cattle, trees, medical herbs, potatoes, ghee, water-lifts, looms, carts, and on dancing girls, carpenters, blacksmiths, goldsmiths, dyers, shoemakers, barbers, washermen, boatmen, and basket-makers, etc. All these were swept away under British rule. In Akbar's reign, which is universally admitted to be the best Indian administration, Todar Mall, India's greatest financier, fixed the Government share

of land revenue at 33 per cent, which was often increased by other imposts to 50 or 60 per cent. The Sikhs in the Punjab and the Mahrattas in the south, during their supremacy, realised half or 50 per cent of the gross produce. Now we have to examine the British rates of land revenue, concerning which absurd and absolutely unfounded misconceptions seem to have taken root in the mind of the public, which lead to gross misrepresentations about the current rates of land revenue.

Indian politicians are never tired of repeating in the Press and on the platform that taxation was lighter in the *good old times*, and that India is now *groaning* from overtaxation. They declare the British rate of land revenue as exorbitant, and even go so far as to describe it 75 per cent, and try to assure their audience that "India was bleeding to death" by the extortion of the British rule. What is to be most regretted is that my countrymen are so much accustomed to believe in hearsay that they are seldom inclined to think for themselves about the truth or otherwise of a statement or to verify it. I had opportunities of discussing this topic with leading zamindars and cultivators of several districts, and when they had nothing left in their support, they sought shelter by referring to the speeches of distinguished Indian politicians and leaders. I pointed out to them that there was absolutely no need of knowing others' views as it was not a matter of opinion. Zamindars and cultivators live in every village and town and a direct enquiry from them ought at once to reveal the real state of affairs.

Gross misrepresentations about British rate of land revenue.

[Note :—One acre = 5 bighas.] As has been shown in the preceding chapter, the minimum average produce of wheat per bigha in this country is one maund and a half or $7\frac{1}{2}$ maunds per acre). The Zamindar usually leases out this land to the cultivator at Re. 1-8-0 per bigha. The gross produce of this bigha of land—one maund and a half, at the present market rate sells for Rs. 10. The maximum rate of land revenue fixed by the Government nowhere and under no circumstances exceeds 10 per cent of the rent which the Zamindar realises from the cultivator. The very well-known proportion of the Government and Zamindar's share in the rent respectively 45 and 55 per cent. The Government has, of course, nothing to do with the revenue expenses, which are spent, through the District Boards, on works of public utility, such as roads, bridges, schools, hospitals, etc. Even supposing the rate of Government revenue to be 50 per cent of the rent realised by the Zamindar from the cultivator, the Government will receive only half of what the zamindar got for the above-mentioned bigha or annas 12 only, as against Rs. 10 the price of the gross produce of the same bigha earned by the cultivator. The actual rate of Government revenue thus turns out to be about $\frac{1}{13}$ th or less than 8 per cent of the gross produce. When grain sold cheaper, the land is leased out at cheaper rate—say at annas eight per bigha—and the result would be just the same. If the average produce be taken at three maunds per bigha, which is not unusual, and the zamindar leases it at Rs. 2 per bigha, the Government, at best, will realise

only one rupee for this bigha, while the price of the gross produce amounts to Rs. 20. Here the Government revenue is $\frac{1}{20}$ th of the gross produce or only 5 per cent. When the prices are easy at the harvest time, wheat does not sell more than seven seers a rupee, but this rate prevails only for a month or two, otherwise the average rate is six seers per rupee or even less than that during some months. The value of grain produce has considerably increased, and it is the Indian agriculturists who are solely benefited by these high prices. The famine commission of 1878-80 in their report pointed out that the rate of land revenue obtaining in the various provinces of India varied from 4 per cent to 8 per cent of the gross produce. The actual rates of land revenue are shown below, framed on the best available estimates of the outturn :—

Provinces.	Percentage on estimated gross value of crops.
Punjab	5 6
United Provinces of Agra and Oudh	7 8
Bengal	3 9
Central Provinces	3 8
Berar	4 6
Bombay	7 6
Madras	6 3

The Zamindari system chiefly obtains in Bengal, the Punjab, United Provinces, and Central Provinces. Under this system, the zamindar or landlord is the owner of the land, and he leases out his land to cultivators and realises rent from them and pays a portion of it to the Government as land revenue. In Bombay, Madras, Assam, and Burma no

zamindars intervene between the Government and the cultivator, and the Government realises the land tax (land revenue) direct from the cultivator. This system is known as "Ryotwari." Zamindari and Ryotwari systems prevail respectively in 53 and 47 per cent of the area of British India. The average rate of land revenue for the whole of the cultivated area of British India was found to be Re. 1-7-8 per acre in the year 1901. Calculating at this average for 250 million acres under cultivation in the year 1917-18, the total land revenue should have been about 370 million rupees but the actual land revenue for the year was less than 325 millions, which obviously shows that the standard of assessment has become more and more lenient since 1901.

We must bear in mind that in pre-British times the settlements of revenue demand were revised every ten years, whereas they are now made for 30 years.

Concessions to the agriculturists.

The Government absolutely receives no share of the increase in the produce of the land, which may accrue to the farmer in the course of this long term. In ancient times no enhancement of produce due to improvements effected by the zamindar at his own expense was exempt from assessment of land revenue; but the British Government has made special laws according to which the Bombay and Madras cultivators enjoy the permanent privilege of enhancing, revenue free, the produce of their land, by providing additional means of irrigation, by digging wells, or constructing tanks at their own expense. Thus the Government expects no share

increased produce if the increase is the outcome of the cultivator's private resources. The zamindars are allowed the concession of utilising any amount of their own money in improving their holdings, and to enjoy revenue-free, all the increased income from the improvement thus effected, till they have recovered all the money they had spent on these improvements. In the Punjab and Bengal, if masonry wells are sunk, the Government does not assess the extra income due to the wells for 20 years, nor does it demand for ten years any share in the profits accruing from other means of irrigation provided by the farmers themselves. Similarly in the United Provinces and the Central Provinces extra produce is not assessed from 30 to 45 years if the land-holder himself improves his land by providing additional means of irrigation. Formerly anticipated increase of produce was also assessed when the settlement was revised, but now revenue demand is fixed only for the actual income of the farmer at the time of the settlement, and all improvements effected in course of the next 30 years are, as a rule, exempt from assessment.

Over and above the concessions mentioned in the foregoing paragraph, the major portion of Bengal, and parts of the United Provinces and Madras have been enjoying the extraordinary benefit of a permanent settlement, that is, the zamindars pay land revenue to the Government at a rate fixed one hundred years ago, and notwithstanding the constant increase in the price and the produce of the land the Government gets nothing out of it. The assessment rate fixed so long ago is very light consequence of which the zamindars have grown

wealthy. The most striking feature of the system of permanent settlement is that, although the Government demand has been fixed once for all, the zamindars continue to increase the rates of rent which they realise from their cultivators, and what is still more surprising no complaint has ever been raised by any Indian patriot or by the public, against the zamindars, for enhancing the rent, and they have never clamoured for any limit being prescribed for the amount of rent. If any modification of the permanent settlement system be ever suggested, our Indian Press will at once begin to pour forth bitter criticism and ascribe all sorts of bad motives to the administrators of the country, but strange it is that not a finger is raised in the same country by the public concerning the powers of the zamindar to enhance the amount of rent, and the cultivators evoke no sympathy in any quarter.

During the reign of Akbar the Great, the Moghul Empire extended only over northern India; and according to Abul Fazal his minister and secretary, the land revenue for the year 1605 amounted to Rs. 26,17,50,000 and the total receipts from all revenue heads aggregated 630 millions. In the year 1707, during Aurangzeb's rule, the land revenue amounted to Rs. 45,27,00,000 and the income from all sources totalled 1,200 millions. The total British revenue from all sources, in the year 1917-18, was Rs. 1,69,00,00,000 of which 324 millions represented the land revenue. These figures show that during the reigns of Akbar and Aurangzeb the land revenue formed 40 per cent of the total revenue, while the corresponding British per-

Actual amount of revenue during the Moghul period.

age of the land revenue is less than 20 per cent. It must be borne in mind that the population of India has now considerably increased, that on account of ample means of irrigation now provided, the cultivated area has doubled itself during the past 50 years, that the vast fertile area of Burma has recently been added to India, and that prices of food grains have considerably gone high, and with all these circumstances, calculated to have immensely increased the land revenue, the British percentage of this item of revenue is less than half of what obtained during the Mo'ghul period. Again we have to consider that the annual income from items like post and telegraphs, canals, and railways, etc., which are entirely the creations of British rule, amounted to about 700 millions, and the total receipts from all other sources of revenues, notwithstanding the extraordinary material progress of the country, amounts to less than 1,000 millions and thus the Moghul revenue exceeded it by more than 200 millions. This excess was evidently made up from additional taxes.

For the information of our readers we give below an abstract statement of India's annual income and expenditure for the year 1917-18, so that they may be able to see for themselves the relative proportion of the various items:—

Income for the year 1917-18.		Expenditure for the year 1917-18.	
	Rs.		Rs.
Land revenue	32,41,00,000	Collection of revenues	14,80,00,000
Opium	4,62,00,000	Interest on loans	11,00,00,000
Salt	8,25,00,000	Post and Telegraphs	5,35,00,000
Stamps	8,60,00,000	Mints	25,00,000
Excise	15,24,00,000	Salaries and other expenses	31,25,00,000
Customs	16,55,00,000	(Civil)	9,00,00,000
Income-tax	9,46,00,000	Miscellaneous Civil expenses	1,50,00,000
Interest on loans	3,25,00,000	Famine relief	21,34,00,000
Post and Telegraphs	6,93,00,000	Railway	5,91,00,000
Mints	77,00,000	Irrigation	7,57,00,000
Income from Civil Departments	3,00,00,000	P. W. D.	46,00,00,000
Income from the Military	2,88,00,000	Military expenses	
Canals	7,60,00,000		
Railways (after deducting expenses)	36,31,00,000		
P. W. D.	48,00,000		
Other sources	13,05,00,000		
Total	1,69,00,00,000	Total	1,54,00,00,000

An examination of the items of expenditure will at

once show that no amount is provided for the person of the ruler.

Peculiarities of modern expenditure.

Formerly the bulk of the revenue was appropriated by the rulers themselves, and was spent on royal palaces or to satisfy their personal demands. But the present day estimates include no items like royal stables, elephant-sheds, betel and smoking department (Bhindikana), the singing and dancing department (Arbab-i-nishat), the royal kitchens, the royal guest house, the games department (Shikar-khana), royal furniture department (Farashkhana), the royal wardrobe (Toshekhana), etc. All these items have now disappeared. The present estimates include expenses for the defence of the country, for keeping peace, for the administration of justice or for works of public benefit. Instead of royal palaces, imposing buildings are constructed for public use such as schools, colleges, libraries, hospitals, courts, town halls, canal heads, museums, and so forth.

In former times the worst enemy of the farmers

was the money-lender, who lent

The co-operative credit system.

them money at heavy rates of interest. The ordinary rate was

37½ per cent per annum, but money was advanced at 12 per cent compound interest, if land was mortgaged. The money-lender generally tricked the farmer into slavery, and by applying compound interest, gradually absorbed all his landed property. The Government has, however, now encouraged the co-operative credit system in the country, and many capitalists have been persuaded to establish co-operative banks.

These banks lend money to agriculturists and persons engaged in other industries at very easy rates of interest, and the debt is easily recovered by convenient instalments. These banks do not lend money to individuals, but advance suitable amounts to societies. The members of these societies pledge their joint credit and obtain capital which they lend among themselves. Each village or town has one or more societies, the membership being restricted to agriculturists or persons engaged in industries. Each society begins with 20 or 25 members with power to add. The monetary and earning capacity of every member is kept properly registered in the bank. These societies jointly borrow sums from the bank, and it is then advanced to individual members according to their respective need. Each Local Government has appointed a Registrar to form and control such societies. From the annual report of the Co-operative Societies for the year 1917-18, it appears that 282 co-operative banks were started by that time, with a capital of 58 millions subscribed by one hundred thousand persons. The number of borrowing societies in that year was 25,000, with a membership exceeding a million. The movement is being encouraged by Government and is spreading fast. Each member of a society is also required to deposit every month a small portion of his monthly savings in the bank, which is placed at his credit. This amount goes on increasing but has a prescribed limit. The bank allows interest on these individual deposits which at the end of the year noted above aggregated 85 millions. This amount belonging to the members of the societies will go on multiplying, till the societies will have their own

and the farmers instead of being reduced to the slavery of money-lenders will gradually become proprietors of banks, and will be in a position to utilise their own money for the improvements of their holdings. Deducting all actual expenses, the banks made a profit of about $7\frac{3}{4}$ millions, which works out to be a little more than 3 per cent on the capital of the banks. It is obvious that the agriculturists can now borrow money at comparatively much easier rates of interest, and at the same time they are in the process of making a capital of their own. These banks are patronised by the Government, and their number is increasing every year. The difficulty is that we do not venture to utilise our capital on any large scale for public benefit, otherwise the co-operative credit system is profitable both to the capitalist and the agriculturist.

CHAPTER XII

REMISSION OF OTHER TAXES

It is the common opinion that taxation was lighter in ancient times, and that India is now *groaning* from overtaxation. The people of Europe have larger incomes, and so it did not matter if they were heavily taxed, but India, they say, is a poor country, and therefore they cannot afford to pay any taxes at all.

Let us examine the nature and extent of taxation

Taxation in old times. in old times Magasthenes, the Greek traveller, who visited the capital of Asoka, says that the buyers and sellers of goods in the 'bazar' were not left to themselves as they were; but a state officer was appointed to watch all

transactions, and to collect as a tax one-tenth of the price of everything sold. Fraud in payment of the tax was punished with death

The Chola Kingdom in south India, with its capital at Tanjore, was the most long-lived sovereignty in India. Inscriptions on the walls of the great temple at Tanjore, in the 11th century, give long lists of taxes which were levied. In Coimbatore in the year 1797 it was found that 61 taxes were collected over and above the land tax. All these have now been swept away. India is considered to have been most prosperous in Akbar's reign, which is looked upon as the best rule in every respect. The Moghal Empire in his time was smaller than British India, and probably had not half the population, yet the land revenue was greater. Besides the land tax there were not less than forty taxes of a personal character. These included taxes upon religious assemblies, upon trees, upon marriages, upon peasants' hearth, upon his cattle, etc.

As a rule, the more civilised and advanced a Government is, the more it will have to realise taxes from the people and spend them to maintain its higher standard of administration, and the more improved will be the condition of the people. But notwithstanding the unrivalled efficiency of the British Government, the rate of taxation in India is the lightest, as compared with that of the other civilised countries.

The gross revenue of British India in the year 1917-18 was 1,690 millions. This, however, gives a very erroneous idea of the actual weight of taxation. Receipts from posts and telegraphs, railways, canals, and India

proceeds of opium and similar other items of income which are payments by persons for value received or services rendered, can hardly be considered taxes, while land revenue is in fact rent paid to Government for the use of the land. Leaving out of calculation all such receipts which amount to about 1,000 millions nearly 700 millions constitute the taxes proper. This sum distributed amongst the 240 million population of British India, gives a taxation average of about Rs. 3 per head. As compared to this, the corresponding average rate of taxation per head in other civilised countries is given below :—

	Rs.	a.	p.		Rs.	a.	p.
(1) Germany	..	75	4 0	(5) Great Britain	...	33	6 0
(2) France	...	55	12 0	(6) Hungary	...	33	2 0
(3) America	...	40	15 0	(7) Russia	...	24	14 0
(4) Austria	...	40	12 0	(8) Egypt	..	21	6 0
(9) Japan	Rs.	10	0 0				

These figures speak for themselves, and unmistakably indicate that in view of this average taxation per head, the cost of British administration of India is the cheapest, and the burden of taxation over the people is the lightest.

To further illustrate the point it would not be out of place to mention here that the Government levies no income-tax in India upon income less than Rs. 2,000 a year, while the rate of income-tax levied on higher income varies from Rs. 2-1-4 to Rs. 6-4-0 per cent of the income. The latter rate is applied only to higher incomes exceeding Rs. 25,000 a year. Against this, in England income-tax is realised at the rate of 33 per cent. There is no civilised country in the world where taxation per head is less than levied in India. Under former governments the taxes were far heavier than at present.

We pay taxes to Government for protecting us from being plundered, cheated, or murdered. The Government provides soldiers to guard us against foreign enemies and bands of robbers, and also provides policemen and other officers to apprehend criminals, judges and courts of justice for trials, prisons for confining offenders, and in short everything that is necessary for the peace and security of the people. It also provides roads, schools, hospitals, and all other institutions of a civilised Government. If the Government had not undertaken the security of our person and property, we could have scarcely employed half of our time in providing food and clothing, and the other half should have been taken up in guarding against being robbed of them, or in working for some other man whom we would hire to keep watch and to fight for us. This would cost us much more than we pay in taxes, and yet after all it would be very imperfect protection. Thus the taxes are the hire or price paid to Government in exchange for protection, just as any other payment is made in exchange for anything we want. Every rupee, which we give in payment of taxes, goes to constitute the pay of the soldier who defends our frontier, of the sailor who guards our coasts, of the policeman who keeps order so that you may work at ease during the day and sleep in peace at night. The same rupee also contributes to the construction of roads, bridges, railways, and telegraphs so that you may travel safely and easily, and that your goods may be safely transmitted from one place to another. It also defrays the expenses of establishing courts of justice, hospitals, schools,

which are all for our good. We cannot, in fact, live without paying taxes. Most of the time, labour and care of a savage is taken up in providing for his defence. He is occupied in providing arms for his protection against those whom he is able to fight, or in seeking hiding-places from those who are too strong for him. The remedy for this miserable state of things is to be found in settled Government, whose duty is to afford protection of person and property. The more civilised and advanced a Government is, the more the people will have to pay taxes, and the more improved will be the condition of the people. If following the custom of backward nations, nothing be spent on roads, bridges, railways, posts and telegraphs, schools, hospitals, police and courts of justice, the rate of taxation will be reduced but who would like to live under such conditions.

Those who are used to ascribe the alleged poverty and troubles of the Indian people to overtaxation generally forget that one-third of the area and one-fourth of the population of India comprise the native States which are governed by Indian rulers. The peoples of these native States are free from all taxes imposed by the British Government, yet on comparison the condition of the British Indian subjects will, in no sense, be found more unfavourable or less prosperous than that of the subjects of the native States.

It is not the agriculturists, as a rule, who perish during famines. With or without the aid of money-lenders, they can tide over one or two bad years. It is the landless agricultural labourers

Subjects of native States free from British taxation.

Only landless agricultural labourers suffer more at the time of drought.

who are the sufferers. In ordinary seasons they can get employment and manage to live but if the rains fail, they cannot get any work in the corn-fields and unless work is provided for them they must starve. In countries where the labouring classes have the fewest wants, and they are contented with the cheapest food, the people are exposed to the greatest vicissitudes and miseries. They are already so low, that they can fall no lower, and they are consequently most adversely affected by scarcity.

When we read of the larger income earned by European workers and labourers, we feel sorry for the low-paid labourers of our own country. But we ignore the fact that an Indian peasant has no labour bill, as he and his family work the holding; he pays no rent for his cottage of sun-dried bricks and thatch which he himself builds and rebuilds and repairs. With the exception of the usual low rent for the use of the land, he has to pay no rates or taxes. For clothing his need is limited to a small narrow strip of cloth for the loins. Now look at the picture of an English farmer while actually ploughing his field. He will be found wearing his warm coat and pant, hat, and shoes. He can read and write, lives in a house built by masons and carpenters and has to pay several taxes. All these personal expenses necessitate larger income. What in fact we crave for is that we should be provided with all the distinctive facilities, improvements and comforts of Europe, that education in India should be free and compulsory as is the case in Europe, that all the rules of hygiene should be strictly followed in our towns and

Higher wages earned by European labourers

villages, that India should be free from epidemics and famine, that we should all pass a life of ease and comfort like that of a European gentleman, but under no circumstances should we be required to pay anything for any of these improvements, and that taxes should be forthwith reduced. This is evidently impossible. The more you sow, the more you will reap. The more we wish that the condition of our countrymen should improve, the more will it be necessary for us to pay additional taxes.

CHAPTER XIII.

DISAPPEARANCE OF FAMINE.

A century ago neither the Government nor the people thought that it was possible

In old times famine was regarded as a visitation from God.

to deal with a great Indian famine.

Famine was regarded, not as a problem of administration, but as a

visitation of God, utterly beyond the control of man.

Before British rule the country was without metalled roads and railways. Goods were conveyed by pack oxen or rude carts. Carriage by pack oxen was exceedingly expensive, and even by cart it was high. When famine prevailed over a wide range, pack oxen and carts became almost useless as oxen required water and fodder which was not available in famine stricken districts, and the transport difficulties were insuperable.

There might be abundance of food in other provinces, but without roads and railways it could not be conveyed to the famine regions. The death-rate was consequently terrible and large tracts of the country often

ay desolate for years. The people in those days traced their sufferings to fate or to their sins in a former birth and were resigned. But things are changed now, and our educated young men are under no circumstances inclined to blame themselves or the natural conditions of their country, but find it easier and more convenient to lay all the misfortunes at the door of the British Government.

An Indian Editor has gone so far as to say that

Formerly people traced all their sufferings to fate, now they lay them at the door of the British Government.) railways have been the principal cause of the impoverishment of the Indian people. Many ignorant persons still persist in thinking that the intensity and frequent recurrence of famines in India are due

to the poverty caused by heavy taxation. This is on the face of it a misleading notion. On the one hand there is hardly any truth in the statement that India is poorer now than before—the truth lies the other way, and as a matter of fact India is undoubtedly wealthier and more prosperous now than before, as is shown in detail in another chapter. Then again the imputation that India is now heavily taxed is absolutely unfounded. Facts and figures have been quoted in another chapter to show that the rate of assessment on the produce of the land is now very low, and that taxation in India is the lightest as compared with other countries

Everybody is conversant with the well-known truth

that famine is a calamity peculiar to agricultural countries. India is purely an agricultural country, and the peasants and villagers constitute the bulk of the population mostly dependent on agriculture.

Heavy taxation has nothing to do with famine.

upon the yield of their crops, or earn their living by labouring in the corn-fields. The crops in their turn almost entirely depend upon regular and timely rainfall. If rains set in at the proper time, millions are employed in ploughing, weeding, reaping, thrashing, and winnowing. If, however, rains altogether fail, or are late in coming, the earth does not yield food, no crops are reared, and there is no demand for agricultural labour. The agricultural labourers consequently suffer most. If high taxation had anything to do with famines, the regions, where taxation was the lightest, and the zamindars prosperous should have been exempt from famine. But such is not actually the case. Part of Bengal, United Provinces, and Madras have been enjoying the advantages of permanent settlement for more than a century. Notwithstanding the immense increase in the produce of the land, the land-holders, in terms of the settlement, pay land revenue to the Government at the same easy rate which was fixed a hundred years ago, and as a consequence they are wealthier and more prosperous than their *confreres* in other parts of the country. Yet these parts also have been subject to frequent severe famines.

During the famines of 1873 and 1897, the Government had to spend a hundred millions on the relief of the population of the famine-stricken areas under permanent settlement, while it spent during the same famines less than one-third of the above amount on the relief works in those parts of Bombay and Madras which were not permanently settled. As more than 75 per cent of the Indian population lives on agriculture, failure of rain is a public calamity.

There have been famines in India from the earliest times. But as we have no regular history of the ancient times, details of those famines have not come down to us. We only briefly know

Famines are traceable in every period of Indian history.

that when a dreadful famine raged in any part of India, men ate their own kind, and in the intensity of hunger, parents were driven to the extremity of eating their children, that millions of lives were lost, whole districts were entirely depopulated and turned into wilderness inhabited only by wild beasts. The Mahabharata describes a famine of *twelve years' duration*. Such was the scarcity of food that the famous Rishi Visvamitra, to prevent death from starvation, had to steal at night dog's flesh from the hut of a *chandala*, which he ate, after previously offering a portion to the gods. An equally doleful tale is handed down about another renowned Rishi Vamdeo who in extreme destitution had to cook and eat the entrails of a dog. These stories belong to India's pre-historic periods. The well-known historian, Abdul Kadir Budauni, thus describes what he saw himself:— "At this time (1556 A.D.) a dreadful famine raged in the Eastern provinces. The author with his own eyes witnessed the fact that men ate their own kind, and the appearance of the famished sufferers was so hideous that we could scarcely look upon them. What with the scarcity of rain, the famine and the desolation, and what with uninterrupted warfare for two years, the whole country was a desert, and no husbandman remained to till the ground."

Referring to this very famine Abul Fazl writes:—

“ At this time there was a great scarcity in Hindustan. In some districts, and especially in the province of Delhi, it reached a most alarming height. If men could find money, they could not get sight of corn. Men were driven to the extremity of eating each other and some formed themselves into parties to carry off live individuals for their food.”

In the year 1596, during the reign of Akbar, which is universally looked upon as one of the most happy periods of Indian history, another dreadful famine ravaged the whole country for three or four years, when food was not available, and the roads and streets were strewn over with dead.

A Dutch traveller has written that in the year 1631 the roads of the Surat city were blocked up with heaps of dead bodies as there was none either to bury or burn them, that few living persons came in sight, and that no less than thirty thousand perished in the single city of Surat.

Manochi, an Italian traveller, writes that during the two years of drought 1702 and 1704 more than two million people perished in the Deccan. Parents were driven to sell their children at eight annas, and sometimes at four annas each, but buyers could not be found and so they died of starvation. The famine in Bengal in which at least one-third of the inhabitants perished is thus described: “ All through the stifling summer of 1770 the people went on dying. The husbandmen sold their cattle, they sold their implements of agriculture, they devoured their seed grain, they sold their sons and daughters till at length no buyer of children could be

found; they ate the leaves of trees and the grass of the field, and in June 1770, the Resident at the Durbar affirmed that the living were feeding upon the dead. Day and night a torrent of famished and disease-stricken wretches poured into the great cities. At an early period of the year pestilence had broken out. The streets were blocked up with promiscuous heaps of the dying and the dead. Interment could not do its work quick enough; even the dogs and jackals, the public scavengers of the East, became unable to accomplish their revolting work, and the multitude of mangled and rotten corpses at length threatened the existence of the citizens.

In the famine of 1838, 800,000 perished at Agra, out of the total population of $15\frac{1}{2}$ millions.

Ever since the commencement of the British rule, famine has been recognised as one of the most difficult problems with which the Indian Administration has to deal. The attitude of the Government in dealing with famines has been undoubtedly most sympathetic with the people; and to adopt all possible measures in order to save the lives of the famine-stricken people, and to relieve their distress have been recognised the most important duty of the State. To guard against the ravages of famine, the British Government has undertaken permanent measures on a large scale. A department has been established known as the "Meteorological Department," which makes periodical reports about the rainfall and other atmospheric conditions, which afford a fair guide as to whether it is likely to be a year of drought or

Relief measures now adopted by the Government.

unseasonable weather, thus giving timely warning upon which relief works are at once opened in any area of apprehended famine. The Government, moreover, now receives weekly reports of the conditions of the standing crops, and statements of the market rates of food grains. In each district a well-arranged programme of relief works is always kept ready, and relief circles of proper dimensions determined beforehand. Sufficient supply of tools, spades, hoes, pick-axes, and baskets are kept in stock. In short, the Government have organised the system of famine relief in a scientific way. A famine code has been drawn up for the guidance of officials. Details of transports are all carefully worked out so that help may be sent to an afflicted district as quickly as possible. Special officers are trained in relief work, so that the plans of Government may work smoothly. The relief programme is kept so complete in all details that on the receipt of a telegram from headquarters, every man is at his post and knows what to do like well-drilled sailors on a sinking ship.

As soon as famine breaks out, relief works are undertaken. Every one, who is strong enough, is provided with work and can earn a living, and care is taken to explain to the people that there is no disgrace in doing this kind of work. The work is usually of a public nature, such as making of roads, canals, or abankments. The Government officers are constantly on tour in the villages, and compile lists of such sufferers who are unable to work for themselves and they are provided gratuitous relief. The Government remits alto-

Various kinds of relief.

gether, or partially, as circumstances require, the taxes payable by the famished. Loans are granted on easy terms and grants of money, repayable over a series of years, are made to districts for replanting and restocking farms. Realisation of land revenue is suspended, and in special cases altogether remitted, poor-houses are opened in or near towns and cooked food is provided to the poor, the sick, and the needy. Milk is provided for infants who are deprived of their mothers' milk. It has been found that when distress is severe, children are neglected by their parents, even when the latter are given special allowances of food for them. Special precautions have, therefore, to be taken to protect them and children's "relief kitchens" are opened under official supervision. The crowding together of many thousands in working camps is a serious matter, from the point of view of public health. Elaborate arrangements have to be made for sanitation, and good drinking water has to be supplied. Even with all such precautions, epidemics of cholera sometimes break out. In the year 1900, cholera broke out in a district in Guzerat, and thousands perished in the course of three days. All the camp servants fled away and the whole camp was deserted. Only a few English officers remained on the scene to attend and nurse the sick, and to burn or bury the dead bodies.

As a safeguard against fever, quinine is distributed free in all relief camps during the months of September and October. The susceptibilities of the people are respected and poor persons belonging to respectable families, and *purda* women are allowed to stay at their homes and are given cash allowance

support them. Professional beggars and habitual wanderers are provided food and clothing in the poor-houses built for this purpose, and no effort is spared to save the lives of the people. When distress is acute, the Government allow public subscriptions to be raised in India, England, and elsewhere. During the famine of 1897, for example, a relief fund was opened by the Lord Mayor of London, after consultation with the Government of India. Within twenty four hours from the time the Lord Mayor made his appeal, about four million rupees were given to help the suffering Indian peasants. Altogether far more than 15 millions was sent from England to buy food and comforts for the sick and the poor, subscribed by all classes of the British public.

We generally regard famine and scarcity as one and the same thing. In reality this

Famine to be distinguished from scarcity

is not so. By famine we mean the calamity when food grains are abso-

lutely unavailable in certain areas for lack of rains, as was the case in old times, and millions perished of hunger and starvation. In times of scarcity, however, food grains are not entirely inaccessible, but the prices run high. Famine in its proper sense is now no longer possible in India, as roads, railways, and extensive irrigation works have proved to be the most effective means of saving life. India is a vast continent, and failure of crops due to lack of rains never afflicts the whole of India at the same time. Provinces, therefore, are able to spare their surplus food for their suffering brethren in another part of the country, and the railways in a very short time transmit food from prosperous

areas to famine stricken districts. Since the produce of one province is, in such cases, also shared by another, the increased demand for food and the transit expenses naturally raise the prices, but the afflicted districts are saved from starvation. With the aid of the telegraph the trades people know the prevailing prices in every part of the country, and they arrange the transport of food grains to famine areas, from the quarter where larger produce renders the rates easier.

The famine that occurred in Orissa in the years 1865-67 affected $47\frac{1}{2}$ million peoples, and the Government directly provided relief to 235 million individuals at a cost of ten millions; and if the indirect assistance accorded by the British Government in the shape of the remission of land revenue be included, the cost of the relief amounted to 15 millions.

The Rajputana famine of 1868 affected 40 millions of its population. Hundreds of thousands fled from the native States to British territory, where the Government had to spend five millions to support them, and distributed Rs. 7,00,000 as gratuitous relief to the helpless and disabled sufferers.

The famine stricken area of Behar in the year 1873-74 had a population of 25 millions. The Government sanctioned $62\frac{1}{2}$ millions rupees for relief works, with the result that there was no loss of life.

The famine which originally broke out in southern India in the year 1876-78 and subsequently spread to the Central Provinces, the United Provinces and Punjab, affected an area of 2,50,000 square miles a population of 60 millions.

'This famine was accompanied by the additional calamity of universal fever, which enhanced the number of annual deaths in India by more than five millions. The relief provided by the Government on this occasion cost 184 million rupees, which included contributions by England and British Colonies to the extent of eight millions and a half.

In the year 1896-97 portion of Behar, the Central Provinces, the United Provinces, and the Punjab, with a population of $62\frac{1}{2}$ millions suffered from famine. The Government provided relief at a cost of $72\frac{1}{2}$ million rupees in cash, remitted land revenue to the extent of $12\frac{1}{2}$ millions, and advanced $17\frac{1}{2}$ millions to the cultivators. The total cost of relief included Rs. 1,25,00,000 subscribed by the people of England.

The difficulties of the administration of relief works in famine times are not restricted merely to their unwieldy magnitude. The inhabitants of India differ amongst themselves in caste, in habits, in customs, in language, and in religion. Peculiar difficulties in the administration of famine relief. The same language cannot be understood in all parts of the same province. Then again thousands prefer starvation to residing in a relief camp or touch the food which they consider as unclean by itself or cooked by unclean hands. Persons belonging to one caste do not consent to eat with people of other castes. A very large temporary establishment of officials is required to manage and control thousands of such capricious committees of each relief camp. The railways transport the affected areas in a very short time millions of tons of food grains from prosperous districts. It

was impossible in the absence of railways to import even one-tenth of the grain in the afflicted district, particularly because pack animals which required water and fodder could not be taken to such areas. During famine times all Government officers from the Viceroy down to the district officer are constantly on tour to remain in touch with the real state of affairs, and neither cholera, nor plague, nor any other epidemic can stand in the way of these official tours.

As it is beyond human control to regulate the rainfall, whatever steps the Government may take to mitigate famine, it is inevitable that famines will occur from time to time. The Government of India, therefore, now maintains a famine insurance fund in which 15 million rupees are kept year by year. This sum is annually provided in the budget estimates. In years of famine, money is drawn from this fund for the relief of the sufferers. In prosperous times, portions of this fund are spent on preventive measures such as irrigation works, feeder railways, and other public works.

Thus, on the one hand, the Meteorological Department reports every day the state of the weather at important stations all over the country, and forecasts of the probable monsoons are furnished, and warned in time by unfavourable weather symptoms, all export of grain is stopped as a precaution; on the other hand, railways, canals, steamers, and public subscriptions substantially aid the Government in bringing down death rate in famines to a minimum. A hundred years neither the people nor the Government ever thought that it was possible to cope with famine. Now India

Permanent safe-
guards against famine.

commerce has progressed with leaps and bounds under British rule, and all big markets of the world being open for Indian goods, the prices of the Indian products have considerably increased, which has immensely benefited the zamindars and cultivators of this country and has led to an increase in the daily wages of coolies and labourers. That is the reason of the entire absence of the clamorous complaints of hard times which we so often heard some years ago when wheat was sold at 10 seers a rupee, while it now sells at 5 or 6 seers a rupee, yet the death-rate is lower and private and menial servants are not easily available now.

In ancient times millions perished every year on account of constant wars, famines, and epidemics, and the population of India consequently never grew beyond a certain extent. The census records, however, now prove that Indian population has of late been increasing at the rate of two millions every year. This obviously shows that our power of resisting scarcity, diseases, and other calamities has now considerably increased.

In times of scarcity the Government try to regulate the sale and storage of food grains to check excessive profiteering. Recently Government made a rule to the effect that no grain dealer or land-holder should store more than a prescribed quantity of food grains, and they were not allowed to purchase or store, or sell, or export more grain without the previous permission of the authorities. But all such rules were useless, unless the people them-

Remedial measures adopted by Government to ease the grain situation.

selves co-operated with the Government and assisted them by furnishing correct information. It is a well-known fact that to avoid the consequences of the above rule, all those who had large stores of grain distributed it *on paper* amongst their relatives and friends, and in their account-books showed a number of owners of the same stock, thus to all appearance allotting only the prescribed quantity to each supposed owner!

The wealthy bankers and grain dealers, instead of investing their capital on works of public utility, ordinarily employ it in purchasing large stores of grain and then keep it locked, and sell it at a time most favourable to themselves at self-dictated rates. In the month of July 1919 I happened to visit Shamli, a place in the neighbourhood of Banat, my native village in the Muzaffarnagar district. I found that the bankers and wealthy shop-keepers were actually advancing money to the cultivators to sell all the produce of their land to them at the forthcoming harvest time, at the rate of six seers and three chhataks $12 \frac{3}{8}$ lbs. per rupee although wheat now ordinarily sells at about seven seers per rupee at the harvest time. This is not all. The Indian capitalist is not content with the usual rate of interest - six or even eight per cent per annum. They aim at a much higher rate of profit on their capital and, therefore, they all combine and raise the price of food grains. When the capitalists are actuated by such selfish motives and the leading persons of the locality, instead of using their personal influence or persuading public opinion in the interest of the public, only encourage, by their silence, the grain dealers and bankers in their oppressive dealings, and do not assist the authorities by com-

municating to them the real state of affairs, it is very difficult for the Government to ease the situation.

The last *rabi* crops yielded a good harvest of wheat. The rainfall has been sufficient during the current monsoon season, and the *kharif* prospects are good, and all export of grain has been stopped, yet with all this, in August 1919 wheat sold at $4\frac{1}{2}$ seers a rupee in the town of Bijnor. These high rates can be cured neither by copious rainfall nor by the Government. This is a self-inflicted calamity which can be cured only by the peoples themselves. But the difficulty is that many of the persons who are in a position to approach the authorities and can impart correct information about the improper storage of grain by the bankers and dealers are ordinarily themselves shareholders in the transaction and expect to fill their own pockets with gold thereby.

By these comments we do not mean to complain of high prices, because, according to our young patriots the profit money thus raised remains in our own country. What we mean is simply to point out that if the people are put to any inconvenience by this system of storing grain by Indian capitalists, that inconvenience should in all fairness be ascribed to our own countrymen. When our fellow countrymen are benefited by this system, it is not just to lay the blame of high prices and the dearness of grain at the door of the Government.

CHAPTER XIV.

HEALTH PROMOTED.

The problem of improving the health and sanitation of India was not regarded as a matter requiring systematic organisation in the old days. The former rulers made no attempt whatsoever to ascertain the facts relating to death and disease over the country. A perfect system of sanitation can be established only when we know the period when certain diseases appear, the death-rate due thereto, and the means of prevention. To ascertain the real state of affairs a system has been introduced under which we are obliged to register births as well as deaths and their causes. If births fall below the proper number, it shows that the people are not prosperous, when deaths are more numerous than they ought to be, enquiry is made into the cause. The statistical information, so made available, further, enables us to know what are the local diseases, and the percentage of the population suffering from them with fatal effects, and once the true causes are known, it does not take long for modern science to find out the means to check them. The Government has employed highly paid, trained experts for research work in order to find out the causes of epidemics and other prevailing diseases, and to recommend preventive measures. These professional experts regularly submit to the Government the result of their enquiries and research with useful proposals for the guidance of the sanitation department which now forms a regular and well-organised Government institution. Religious and other

prejudices, however, have so far stood in the way of improving the health and sanitation of India. Speaking generally the people are almost totally ignorant of the laws of health and for the most part ignore sanitation. In epidemics of cholera, for example, they will not boil water unless compelled by officials. The poorest classes all sleep on the ground and would not buy a cot or bedstead at the cost of a little extra work. The prejudice against vaccination has been mainly religious as disrespectful to gods. Sanitary measures are resented and disobeyed, and riots have occurred as the result of an attempt to clean the houses and huts in plague-infected districts. Religious and ceremonial cleanliness goes side by side with a reckless disregard for health. For example, the Hindu will drink with eager reverence from the sacred river Ganges in which hundreds of thousands of human beings are then actually bathing, and into which corpses are freely thrown. The high caste man who will not even touch the glass out of which the Viceroy has drunk, will squat in the road and scoop up with a tuft of straw the mud or dust of the public street with all its unnameable impurities and clean his *lota* (drinking utensil) with the foul compound.

Popular apathy to sanitary improvements is, however, now slowly giving way to recognition of its advantages. In the

Sanitary measures
and consequent de-
crease of mortality.

country the management of sanitation is vested in village and district

authorities, constituted on a popular basis and representing public opinion. Slowly but surely sane ideas as to water drainage and public health are spreading

among the peasant classes, thanks to the untiring efforts of the British officials throughout the land.

The establishment of municipalities under the Local Self-Government Act of 1883 has advanced sanitation in towns. Most of the towns now have a good water-supply and proper drains. The disinfection of wells, the supply of filtered water and the construction of water-works have greatly aided in driving out local diseases. All the streets and lanes are swept and cleaned, and all the drains flushed daily in every town, and the sweepings and the night-soil conveyed far away from the town and buried. These and other measures like these have greatly reduced the death-rate from cholera, dysentery, and fever. Constant improvements are being carried out in the matter of housing, and special officers are detailed for work in fighting epidemics of cholera, plague, and small-pox. Plague hospitals exist everywhere and the medical staff labour unceasingly to check its spread and to do what is possible for the sick. Some remarkable results have been attained, for example, the disease has almost been stamped out of the Punjab. The mortality from plague which in 1915 reached the enormous total of 2,42,000 fell in 1916 to 4,141.

The large towns of Bombay and Calcutta have Improvement Trusts, bodies authorised to acquire compulsorily congested areas from Indian landlords and sweep away crowded and insanitary quarters. A mere glance at the health statistics, past and present of larger towns like Calcutta, Bombay, Madras, and Rangoon will clearly show the result of modern hygiene on the public health there being decidedly better and the death-rate comparatively low.

The country is guarded against the introduction of disease from abroad by the institution of port health officers under the supervision of doctors who examine passengers and the seamen and incoming vessels, and generally control the health of the port.

In every province Sanitary Boards, presided over by a Sanitary Commissioner, control the work of the Sanitary officers.

Before the Crown assumed the government in 1858,

much had been done to provide

Medical relief.

medical institutions for the relief of

the Indians, but it is in the last half century that progress has been most remarkable. In 1857 there were 142 civil hospitals and dispensaries at which 6,71,000 people were treated during the year. There were in the year 1917 some 4,638 hospitals and dispensaries maintained or assisted by the State at which 44 million persons are annually treated, of which almost a million are treated as in-patients who are allowed free board, lodging, and medicines, and who are nursed by the hospital servants. There are besides 1,000 private institutions, and about 900 special hospitals are maintained by the State for soldiers and the police, and by the railway companies for their servants. The number of Indian practitioners qualified in modern surgery and medicine is now more than twenty times as large as it was in 1857. The surgical work has been specially appreciated by the people and has their entire confidence, more than a million and a half operations are performed every year. One officer in the Punjab in a year did more than 1,700 operations for cataract, a common eye disease in India.

To the medical needs of the women of India the Government has in late years given much attention. This has always been a difficult subject owing to the *burda* custom. Women of high caste could not attend hospitals or dispensaries or be treated by male doctors. Many women's hospitals now exist, and at general dispensari^s arrangements are made for their privacy.

Much has been done to encourage the training of women doctors and their assistants, and for the training of Indian midwives. There are now about 200 hospitals, wards and dispensaries providing medical relief to about two million women and children. At Delhi has been built a medical college for women, known as the Lady Hardinge Medical College. To it is joined a hospital with 168 beds and a training school for nurses.

Indian women are now gradually realising that they could be greatly relieved if properly attended to and nursed by qualified and trained midwives, of the extreme pain and suffering to which they were liable at child-birth in the hands of ignorant and foolish *dais*, and the women of poorer classes now generally avail themselves of female hospitals in maternity cases. I had an occasion of personally watching a case of maternity after child-birth, in the Victoria Hospital at Delhi. Not only was the poor woman grateful for comparatively easy delivery, but she was nursed day and night by white nurses, and the infant, dressed in spotless white linen, was the object of the affectionate attention of the nurses who attended on him by turns. The whole ward appeared to me a region of a dream. The selfless affection and sincerity with which the Lady

Doctor, her assistants and nurses attended to all classes of patients appeared to me a thing unknown in our country.

Special hospitals have been instituted for the treatment of particular serious diseases such as hydrophobia, leprosy, lunacy, consumption and tuberculosis, in which thousands of Indian sufferers are treated every year. In the case of some of these hospitals, the railway fare and the living expenses of poor patients during treatment are provided by Government.

From early years of British connection with India, and before England had any political authority in the country, efforts were made to introduce Western medical science. Medical Colleges have since been established at Bombay, Madras, Calcutta, Lahore, and Lucknow, in which more than 2,000 students are under training to prepare themselves for the medical service of their country. They furnish yearly a growing number of graduates whose valuable services are now being gradually appreciated all over India. They do duty at hospitals and dispensaries and a very large number of them find useful and lucrative careers in private practice. Besides these colleges there are 17 medical schools situated in different important towns of India in which 3,000 Indian students are under instruction and training. These schools too annually supply a large number of certificated practitioners.

Medical experts have invented very useful surgical instruments which help to a great extent in mitigating pain and alleviating human sufferings. The miracle of new surgical instruments.

of X-ray apparatus are now well known. By means of this apparatus the surgeon is able to examine the skeleton of a living person and actually see if any bone has broken or dislocated, or any bullet or a piece of it is lodged in any part of the body. There are fine instruments in existence now which can in a moment cure diseases, which were formerly considered incurable.

Cataract is a common eye disease in India. Eyesight

Treatment of cataract. is one of the rarest divine gifts, and thousands of Indians who annually lose their eyesight by contracting this disease, practically lose all happiness of their life. Formerly the disease was treated with eye powders. Illiterate and ignorant men operated upon the eye with locally made coarse instruments, and success was for evident reasons only rare. Now trained and experienced surgeons within a few seconds cure the patients of blindness, while the patient remains absolutely ignorant of the operation till it is over and he begins to see. A few drops of a liquid are poured into the eye just before the operation, which dulls the eyeball and the patient does not at all feel the stroke of the lancet.

As mentioned before a surgeon in the Punjab performed 1,700 successful cataract operations in one year. What a great blessing, but it can be appreciated only by those who know by experience how life is rendered miserable when a man loses his eyesight.

Small-pox is one of the most loathsome and dangerous diseases. It was so common and fatal in India that in some parts of the country there is a proverb "A mother can never say

Death-rate from small-pox considerably decreased.

she has a son till he has had small-pox." Vaccination had to fight to gain public favour, but it is now general. The earliest year for which accurate information is available is 1877. In that year 40,27,000 persons were successfully vaccinated. Since then the numbers have increased. About ten million children are now yearly vaccinated, and it is rare to see one of them disfigured by small-pox. In all provinces there has been a clear diminution in the prevalence and the severity of the disease.

Inoculations against cholera, plague, and tuberculosis are also available for the people and are utilised more and more each year.

The Government annually spends a million and a half on vaccination operators.

Chloroform deserves to be regarded as
Invention of chloro- a miracle of the medical
form. science.

It is a liquid the inhaling of the vapours of which renders the patient unconscious, and any surgical operation can be performed on a chloroformed patient. Any portion of the body may be ripped open, any bone may be cut off, mended, or replaced, any piece of the flesh severed from the body, without giving the slightest pain to the person operated upon. In respect of the virtue of relieving patients of a good deal of pain and suffering, few blessings can compare with chloroform.

In India the most fatal of all diseases is malaria.

distribution of qui- To cope with this the Government introduced from South America the Cinchona tree from the bark of which is obtained quinine, which has proved an effective

remedy for malaria and many other kinds of fever. The Government gets it manufactured under official supervision, and it is distributed to the people at a nominal cost through the post offices. Sometimes and in some districts it is given away to any who apply for it at the dispensaries, and children can obtain it at schools free.

CHAPTER XV.

THE EXTENDED SHARE NOW ENJOYED BY THE INDIANS
IN THE ADMINISTRATION OF THE COUNTRY.

As is well known, Indian Princes rule over one-third of the whole area of India and with a population of about 80 millions. The British Government has no hand in the internal administration of these native States.

At the census of British India it was found that three million persons were in the service of the Government in all its departments of administration and in 1904 it was discovered that 28,280 Government posts carried a salary of Rs. 75 per month and upwards. Englishmen are seldom appointed to posts with salary of less than Rs. 75 per month, all such appointments being usually held by the Indians. Of the 28,280 higher posts, less than 6,500 were held by Englishmen, who were either brought from abroad or recruited in the country, to administer the affairs of 230 million people. The Indians held the remaining 21,800 posts, and all know it as a fact that the number of Englishmen in

One-third area of India ruled by Indian Princes.
Proportion of Englishmen and the Indians in Public Services.

the various services of the Government has been gradually decreasing, and that of Indians increasing, during the past twenty years. More recent figures are not available, but it can be affirmed without fear of contradiction that the number of English officers in India is certainly much less now than it was before.

To what extent our rulers have steadily associated us with the administration of our country may be judged from the fact that 70 years ago there was no Indian on the Bench of any supreme or Chief Court, or in the Legislative Council, or in the Civil Service, whereas there is not a judicial tribunal in India, high or low, where we have not had our share of representation on the Bench. Some of the most eminent Judges of the High Courts of Calcutta, Bombay, Madras, Allahabad, and Patna have been Indians. Out of a total number of 46 High Court Judges twenty were Indians. The Chief Courts of Lahore and Rangoon have Indians on their Benches, nor are the Courts of Judicial Commissioners in the Central Provinces and Oudh without Indian element. An Indian was appointed in the year 1919 to the post of the Under-Secretary of State for India, and in the Council of the Secretary of State three Indians of fame now hold their seats. Since the publication of the second edition of this book, a distinguished Indian, who was raised to a peerage in England, has recently been appointed as Governor of a Province in India, the highest post of trust in this country besides that of the Viceroy and Governor-General of India. In the Viceroy's Executive Council, which governs India, there are three Indian gentlemen of great eminence in charge of the Revenue.

Education and Legislative Departments. These three Indian gentlemen now form part of the Government of India. Each of the Executive Councils of Bengal, Bombay, Madras, and Bihar has an Indian member to participate in the administration of the Province.

The Imperial as well as all the Provincial Legislative Councils largely consist of elected (non-official) Indian members, who invariably constitute the majority in all the Provincial Legislative Councils.

The superior officers of the Civil administration are drawn chiefly from the Civil Service of India. This service now consists of 1,319 persons, of whom more than seventy are Indians, and this number is steadily increasing.

A memorandum on the results of Indian Administration, presented to Parliament in 1909 says: "The Provincial Civil Service in 1908 comprised 2,263 Subordinate Judges and Magistracies. Of these 2,067 were natives of India, and of the remaining 196, the greater number were Eurasians or domiciled Europeans. With the development of the country, the administrative staff has greatly increased.' These new posts have fallen in the great majority of cases to inhabitants of the country. Except in the highest branches of control, the proportion of Europeans has been reduced until their numbers have become relatively insignificant. This change has been largely brought about by a rule adopted in 1879 that appointments made in India, carrying a salary of Rs. 20 and upwards should ordinarily be reserved for natives of the country, and that no appointment might be made in contravention of the rule without special sanction. While Europeans have thus been excluded from all posts

except those specially reserved to them, Indians have been admitted to a very considerable share in higher offices. They manage by far the greater part of the business connected with all branches of revenue and with the multifarious interests in land. They dispose of the greater part of the magisterial work. The duties of the civil courts, excepting the courts of appeal, are almost entirely entrusted to Indian Judges."

Besides the two chief branches of the Civil Service there is a subordinate service in each province. This is entirely Indian. As it is in the Civil Service, so it is in all the Indian services.

The premier medical service is the Indian Medical Service. This has always been open to the Indians and it has now about 300 Indian members. There is no post in the higher or in the Provincial Engineering Services to which men recruited from the Indian Engineering Colleges may not rise. Similarly Indians of learning, ability, and academic distinction cannot be shut out of any office in the Imperial or Provincial Educational Services. Many Indians have recently been appointed in the Indian Educational Service, the highest branch of the Education Department in India.

Indian barristers and advocates now constitute the majority in the legal profession, and some Indian barristers are known to have refused the judgeship of the High Court, as they were earning more money through their legal practice.

The armed forces of India consist of one-third Englishmen and two-thirds Indians, while in the Police, District and Municipal Boards almost all the employes are Indians.

To prepare the Indians for self-government, District, Local and Municipal Boards were introduced since 1871. Before the Mutiny, Local committees existed in some districts, and in some parts of India, the town *panchayats* still survived. But these bodies were consultative only. Since 1860 a comprehensive system of Municipal Government has been created. In 1883 Lord Ripon's Government passed the Local Self-Government Act which established Municipalities in all towns, and Boards in the districts. By this Act and later legislation the management of all such questions, as drainage, water-supply, lighting, road construction and repair, trade licensing, buildings and town planning are now in the hands of the people through their elected representatives.

The functions of the Municipal, District and Local Boards are similar, but the activities of the Municipal Boards are restricted to towns, while District and Local Boards are concerned with all improvements pertaining to rural areas.

The duties of the District and Local Boards are various. They are called upon to spend their revenues for the construction and improvement of roads, bridges, hospitals, vaccination, drainage, water-supply, primary education, markets, and rest-houses. The public roads of the district are under their control and are kept in order by them. The drainage of the district is constantly looked after by Inspectors, whose duty it is to report anything wrong to the District Board. The existence of any infectious disease within the district or the local area must be notified to the District or Local Board,

whose duty it is to see that proper precautions are taken to prevent the disease from spreading. In the towns and cities questions of health, of management and maintenance of hospitals, of instruction and upkeep of roads, of the founding and control of schools and other local affairs are all entrusted to the Municipal Boards.

The most important power which is vested in the various forms of Local Self-Government, Local Boards, District Boards, and Municipalities is the power to raise money from the electors by means of what are called "rates and cesses." Rates and cesses are imposed upon the people of a locality by local authorities for local purposes only. Income from rates and cesses is occasionally supplemented by aids and grants from Government revenues. All the members of the Municipal, District and Local Boards are Indians the majority of whom is elected by the people, while some are nominated by the Government. They are elected for three years. The Chairmen of the Municipal Boards are invariably non-official Indians, while many District Boards also have Indian Chairmen.

These Boards are linked to the Legislative Council by a system of direct representation on them, and thus afford ample scope for the public spirit of their members to rise to the greatest heights. There are now more than 800 municipal towns in India with a total revenue of over 90 millions. The largest municipal towns are Calcutta, Bombay, Madras, and Rangoon, and between them they contribute not less than 40 per cent of this total revenue.

Besides the Imperial Legislative Council, every province has a Legislative Council of its own, in which elected non-

official members, who are all Indians, form the majority. These councils are, therefore, representatives of the people and make laws and regulations for the province. No tax or expenditure can be levied or incurred without the sanction of this Council. The members have a right to put questions and receive answers from the Government concerning the condition of affairs in the country. In the Imperial Legislative Council, too, the number of elected non-official members, who are representatives of the people, is almost half, and they have the same rights as the members of the Provincial Councils. Officers are now very cautious in the use of their powers as their actions are subject to criticism in the Councils by the representative Indian members.

All that has been mentioned above refers to the share already enjoyed by the Indians in the administration of the country. The Indian Reform Scheme, which is under the consideration of Parliament, is a great advance on all the past administrative reforms. The historic announcement, in Parliament, of British policy, on 20th August 1917, concerning India, plainly declared that Great Britain was resolved to afford all possible facilities to the Indians to attain self-government for India as soon as practicable. According to this scheme the Indians will be more closely associated with the government of the country, and Indian ministers, chosen from among the elected non-official members of the Legislative Councils, will directly control many important branches of Indian administration, and they will be chiefly responsible to the councils who will represent the people. This scheme will introduce the preliminary

stage of responsible government in India. As the Indian ministers gradually prove their capacity for this responsible task, more and more departments will be entrusted to them till India is wholly and solely governed by Indians, which is the long-cherished ideal of the Indian patriots.

[NOTE.—This scheme has since been sanctioned, *vide* Preface to the second edition.]

CHAPTER XVI.

THE POLICE AND ADMINISTRATION OF JUSTICE.

As we all know so well, we owe much to the Police for the safety of our life and property.

The Police,

We can easily realise the value of

the services rendered by the Police, if it were removed from a district even for a short time. Thanks to the Police administration of the British, the country is now free from the gangs of dacoits, thugs, and professional thieves which used to infest it. The days when men could commit murder with impunity are gone for ever. Gang robbery is fast becoming a thing of the past. The Police force in India consists of two hundred thousand officers and men, and the total cost of the Police in the year 1917-18 amounted to 85 millions.

In other civilised countries the Police is looked upon as a blessing, but such is not the case in India. The Indians look upon the Police as an institution hostile to the people. The reason is not far to seek. We have not yet learnt to instinctively abhor crime—nay—the general tendency amongst us is to sympathise with the criminal; even if a murderer comes to us, pursued by the Police, and appeals to our feelings of mercy, by

narrating a doleful tale of his crime, we are ready to offer him shelter under our roof. Every criminal, even a habitual offender, can very easily manage to secure copious evidence in his defence, with the result that the Police is faced with insurmountable difficulties in the performance of its duties in tracing the offender, in securing proper evidence against that offender, and in getting him convicted. Lack of co-operation, on the part of the people, compel the Police to adopt measures which are not agreeable to the people in general—hence the unpopularity of the Police. But undoubtedly it is not the Police but the moral standard of our countrymen which is mainly responsible for this condition of affairs.

As regards the defects, occasionally complained of, due to the personnel of the Police force, who have not yet risen to a high level of civic consciousness, let us bear in mind that most of the Police force are after all our own countrymen, and higher the moral heights to which we rise as a people, the better will become the character of those who will be paid to police us.

When the people will have learnt the secret that in the safety of the life and property of our neighbours lay the safety of our own life and property, and will have further learnt to spontaneously hate crime and to feel sympathy for innocence, all the difficulties of the Police will come to an end, and the Policeman will be regarded as much a blessing in India as he is considered in other advanced countries.

One of the great blessings of English rule is that in the eye of law all men are equal. Any one who violates the law is punished. No man can claim favour

because of his race, rank, or wealth. Such legal equality was unknown in India before the freedom-loving English came. The process of the law can now be invoked against the Prince as against the pauper. The laws have been simplified and codified, and British India is now in possession of codes which approach the highest standard of excellence which this species of legislation has reached. In form, intelligibility, and in comprehensiveness, the Indian codes stand against all competition. The improvement that has taken place in the administration of justice in India is remarkable. It may now bear comparison with the efficiency of any system existing any where in the world. Justice is administered openly. The courts can be visited by any one. Any person, so long as he conducts himself in an orderly and respectful way, can sit in courts and listen to the proceedings. This is a most important feature of the liberty granted to India. If it happens that any official is biassed, or even desires to prevent justice, there is always the restraint of this publicity on him. The conduct of every trial is in accordance with definite rules as to evidence, the privilege of cross-examination, and the thorough hearing of both sides. In criminal cases the proceedings cannot go on save in the presence of the accused. Evidence has to be given on oath or solemn affirmation, and there are severe penalties for perjury, that is, giving false evidence on oath. All sorts of safeguards have been provided in the law to protect the accused from injustice. For example, a confession to the Police cannot be used as evidence against a prisoner, unless repeated by him to a Magistrate. It is now a settled rule, never departed

from, to appoint to judicial offices men of high education and upright character, who before their appointment have received a sound legal training. With the progress of the training of magistrates, the length of criminal trials has become less, and with the growth of their talents and the increase of their salary has come a much higher standard of honesty and sense of duty.

Every province has a High Court, which has full control over all courts, civil and criminal, in that province. The Judges of the High Courts are appointed by the King and may be removed by him only, so that they are beyond the control of the Local or Indian Government. Thus even when the people have claims against the Government itself they may be sure of an impartial hearing. The strong bulwark of British rule in India is this impartial administration of justice.

During the Moghul period, the officer in charge of the local troops was also the chief magistrate of his district, and it is for this reason that the criminal courts of the East India Company long retained their old appellation of *the Foujdari or Army Departments*. In many of the Native States the Chief Magistrate is still known as *Foujdar* or a military commander.

The system of criminal justice in those days was that all capital cases had to come before the Nawab Nazim (Provincial Governor) himself at headquarters, and other cases of an important nature went before the Naib Nazim (Assistant Governor). Foujdars and Kotwals (Military and Police officers) had jurisdiction over offences of a minor nature. In the district, zamin-

dars (landlords) exercised unlimited criminal jurisdiction. They were required to report decision of capital cases only to the Nawab (Governor). In all other cases there was no check or control over them.

Since India came to be under the direct rule of the Crown, the number of courts has largely increased, so that we have not now to travel far to seek redress from wrong. The Penal Code has simplified the law of crimes, as the Criminal Procedure Code has put the method of enquiry and prosecution on a systematic footing. The higher courts are there to keep the lower courts in check, and owing to the system of appeals from one court to the next higher court, it is not at all easy for a miscarriage of justice to take place.

Justice is administered openly. The decision of cases are arrived at in the presence of both the parties. Friends of each party and many others are usually present in the court during the hearing of cases. Any person can sit in court and listen to the proceedings. Under such circumstances the institution of hundreds of thousands of cases in the courts every year obviously indicates : (1) that justice can now be had cheaper—at as little cost of time and money as possible (2) that many facilities now exist for securing justice through the courts, (3) and that the public has complete confidence in their decisions.

If such were not the case, people should have hardly been persuaded to have recourse to the courts for justice.

CHAPTER XVII.

THE GROWING WEALTH OF INDIA.

Very recently a case came up before the Judicial Court of Oudh. It was a family dispute for the proper distribution among the family members, of gold bars worth one hundred thousand rupees. The gold weighed more than a maund. During the hearing of the case it was found that the disputed gold bars were kept buried in the earth for *twenty* years! If the amount were invested even at five per cent per annum, it should have doubled itself in that period, but according to the custom of the country the money, instead of being profitably employed, lay useless for so many years.

In the meeting of 19th February 1919, of the Imperial Legislative Council, the Hon'ble Sir James Meston (now Lord Meston), in the course of his budget speech, remarked that during the preceding four years our mints turned out 1,200 million rupee coins, but silver rupee was not in evidence; that if he purchased a thing worth one rupee and offered a five-rupee note to the shop-keeper, he returned four one-rupee notes, and if he demanded silver coins in exchange, the shop-keeper looked annoyed as if the demand was unreasonable and out of the question. "Where had all that silver coin gone?" enquired Sir James Meston of all the members present in the Council. One of the Hon'ble Members answered in the full Council, without any fear of contradiction, that it was all *converted into ornaments*. Should any one like to verify the Hon'ble Member's

Habit of locking up capital in ornaments and jewellery.

statement, he should personally sit for some hours at the shop of some well known banker in his town, who deals in gold and silver ornaments. He will find hundreds of poor people, men and women, from the neighbouring villages, visiting his shop in order to purchase or sell a necklace of rupees or of smaller silver coins. Hundreds of such necklaces, in which the original silver coins are used, are bought and sold every day in every town. So much about the silver coins used in their original shape. But when silver becomes scarce and sells at a rate higher than one rupee per *tol* (weight of a rupee), as was the case in July 1919, the goldsmiths melted thousands of silver coins into silver lumps and thus made considerable profit by selling the same to those who required silver for making ornaments.

Every one knows to what extent the Indians are still fond of precious ornaments and jewellery. Men, women, and children all wear silver and gold ornaments in India. In Rajputana almost every man and particularly a woman carries several seers of (a seer = 80 tolas) silver and gold on his or her person.

According to the census of 1911, there were 12,63,000 goldsmiths in India whose sole business is to make silver and gold ornaments. Supposing that each goldsmith earns only as much as an ordinary labourer earns daily at the minimum rate of eight annas per day and that the rate of wages for making silver ornaments is two annas per rupee, which is the current rate even now, then a goldsmith makes only silver ornaments worth four rupees every day, which is a ridiculous

small estimate and has in fact nothing in common with the actually large income of goldsmiths. Taking these low figures as our guide, each goldsmith makes ornaments worth Rs. 120 a month or worth Rs. 1,440 per year. All the Indian goldsmiths thus make ornaments at least worth about Rs. 1,820,000,000 every year. The constant melting and renewal of old ornaments into new, keeps the business going. What a large sum hopelessly locked up and rendered useless to the country which is so much in need of capital!

Experts have estimated that since the discovery of America, 400 years ago, up to the year 1910 the total outturn of gold in the world amounted to 671 million ounces (5,25,000 maunds), and of silver to 11,000 million ounces (86,00,000 maunds). These figures represent the past produce of gold and silver throughout the world. Trade experts are unanimously of opinion, which is based on actual facts and figures, that India has absorbed the largest share of the gold and silver produce, and that the demand is now growing fast.

Reliable statistics exist of gold and silver which has been imported into India since Gold and silver imports into India during the past seventy years. the year 1840

From the year 1840 and 1910, in the course of seventy years, India absorbed gold worth 3,600 millions, which is more than one-tenth of the total gold produce of the world during the above mentioned seventy years. The population of India forms one-fifth of the total population of the globe, and thus India had a fair share of this precious metal. A large quantity of gold must have existed in the country up to the year 1840

and according to the estimates framed in 1910, gold worth some 4,125 millions already existed in the country till the year 1840.

During the same period of seventy years, silver weighing 2,250 million ounces (1,75,000 maunds) was imported into India, and this was a third of the whole silver produce of the world. Previous to that period India's stock of silver is calculated to be 2,500 million ounces (19,50,000 maunds) or one-fifth of the world's stock of silver. All the silver possessed by India is estimated to be worth more than 6,000 millions at the present rate.

Gold and silver is imported into India on private account in exchange for Indian exports, as well as on Government account in the form of coined sovereigns. In this chapter we are concerned with gold and silver imported into India from foreign countries only on private account, in return for the excess of Indian exports over its imports. This quantity remains in the possession of the people and is generally sold through well-known bankers and precious metal dealers to be converted into ornaments.

Between the year 1900 and 1910, a period of ten years, India imported gold worth 1,230 millions and silver worth 1,370 millions, that is to say that India absorbed both these precious metals worth Rs. 2,60,00,00,000.

According to the speech of the Right Hon'ble the Secretary of State for India, delivered in Parliament on 12th May 1919, 51,62,02,000 ounces of silver (more than 40,00,000 maunds) entered

Nature of gold and silver imports.

Imports during the four years of the great war.

India from outside during the four years of the great war, from which some 1,50,00,00,000 rupees could have been coined. The gold market report of Messrs. Samuel Montagu & Co., quoted by the "Pioneer" of 29th May 1919, announced that during the five years of war from 1913-14, gold worth Rs. 81,00,00,000 was absorbed by India, and that this quantity exceeded one-half of the world's annual gold produce.

In accordance with the most recent official statistics; the price of the annual import of gold and silver during the five years preceding the war averaged respectively Rs. 28,86,34,000 and Rs. 7,20,91,000 or both worth more than 36 crores per year

The average annual import.

In the year 1917-18, gold worth Rs. 25,17,80,000 and silver worth Rs. 19,04,20,000 or both to the value of Rs. 44,22,00,000 were absorbed in India.

As stated above, all these figures refer to the private commercial imports of both these precious metals.

The average import of gold on Government account, in the shape of sovereigns, for the five years preceding the great war, was worth 35 million rupees per year.

All the old and recent figures quoted above distinctly prove that the demand for and absorption of foreign gold and silver into India is yearly increasing, and our country, instead of becoming poorer under the British rule, gets more than 400 millions worth of gold and silver every year from foreign countries and the men who possess and use these precious metals must necessarily be growing richer and richer every year, and the capital of the country is consequently increasing year by year.

It is not easy for any one in India to know the men of wealth of this country, as

It is difficult to estimate the wealth of Indian millionaires who ordinarily look poor

they usually maintain a beggarly appearance. As Indian millionaires are invariably in the habit of burying money, or keeping it in underground cells, or locking it up in ornaments and jewellery, instead of employing it profitably, and as no open business is carried on by them, on any large scale, except quiet money-lending in the district, on exorbitant rates of interest, no one can have any estimate of their riches. Below is quoted an interesting story typical of the Indian millionaires and men of great wealth.

A wealthy banker, who, as is the case with almost all Indian millionaires, was a miserly fellow. Whatever he earned, he either buried it in the earth, or hoarded it in underground dark cells. He ate poor food and wore tattered clothes. Once upon a time he was going out on a journey during the hot season, and his wise and sympathetic wife secretly put some sugar in his brass *lota* (narrow mouthed brass water-pot) thinking that when in the intense heat of the noon he would take out water from the well with that *lota* of his, the syrup sugar mixture suddenly going down his throat, will refresh him. When the banker reached a well at noon, he took out water with his *lota*, and according to custom threw back his head and with his eyes shut, began to pour down water from the *lota* in his mouth from above, and when he for the first time felt the sweetness of the sugar mixture, he was startled and suddenly stopped the process. Looking into the

tola and finding that it had sugar in it, he guessed the whole thing, but dreading familiarity with any sort of luxury, he poured down the contents of the *lota* in a hole near the well. This hole happened to be the abode of a serpent (god of wealth) which was delighted on having this offering of cool, sweet, and refreshing beverage. Having had his fill, the serpent came out of the hole and enquired of the beggarly millionaire what he wanted of him, and told him that he was only to name the boon which would be granted forthwith. The suddenness of his good fortune puzzled the banker, and he begged the god of wealth to allow him time to consult his prudent wife, before naming the boon. Time being granted, the banker returned home and narrated the incident to his wife and asked her advice as to what boon he should ask for. She urged him to beg for the possession of his own wealth. The husband was annoyed at this silly suggestion, as his wealth was already in his possession, and so ought to beg for something else. The wife, however, persisted in her advice, and as the husband believed in her superior wisdom, he returned to the serpent's hole, poured another *lota* of sugar mixture, and on the serpent coming out again, the banker respectfully prayed to the god of wealth to grant him his own wealth. The serpent thereupon looked puzzled at this unexpected request, and told him to name any other boon as the millionaire's wealth was in the possession of his brother-in-law who might not be persuaded to part with it.

The millionaire persisted in his request, and as the serpent had already given him his word of honour, he reluctantly granted him the boon.

The millionaire was now returning to his town, but it being day time, he for the first time felt ashamed of his tattered clothes and so hid himself in a clump of trees till dusk, and when he entered his house, he felt annoyed at seeing his wife cooking the food with her own hands. He told her that she could afford to employ servants and so it was not becoming her dignity to stoop to menial service. The next day the banker felt ashamed at walking on foot in the streets and so purchased a carriage and horses, had a good house, employed many servants, provided all sorts of comforts for himself and his wife and both began to live like a prince and princess. Many poor men who formed his establishment in this way began to share his wealth.

This story is meant to serve as a warning to those who keep their hoarded wealth locked up, neither using it themselves, nor allowing others to avail themselves of it.

There are many similar beggarly millionaires in India, but it is difficult to find them out. As has been pointed out in the Chapter on Trade and Manufactures, the excess of India's sale-proceeds of her goods sold to other countries, over the price of her purchases from foreign countries amounts to more than 800 millions every year, and this excess is received in India, in cash, in the shape of gold and silver, and thus the capital of our country is multiplying.

It is not, however, necessary that gold and silver which India receives every year from other countries should benefit only the rich. The growing wealth of the country is shared by all

The poor are also benefited by the country's wealth.

classes of people in the shape of enhanced wages, salaries, and prices of commodities. When certain classes in a country have got wealth, it must filter down to the various classes of artisans, menial servants, workmen, and labourers. However high may be the prices, and whatever may be the conditions of life in India at present, the wealth of India is, as a matter of fact, annually increasing, but the misfortune is that it is not profitably used. Properly used money is the seed corn of money, and in few countries it is more needed than in India. Here, however, its harvest sometimes consists of robberies and murders.

It has been mentioned before that there are 12,63,000 goldsmiths in India, busy day and night in rendering useless India's growing capital. Making allowance for unhelping women and children, each goldsmith is supposed to earn a petty income of eight annas per day or fifteen rupees per month, which is very much less than the actual income of the poorest goldsmith. This amounts to saying that instead of utilising our capital on some profitable undertaking, we annually spend $22\frac{3}{4}$ crores ($227\frac{1}{2}$ millions) to paralyse that money of ours which is so much needed by our country. This amount far exceeds the sum which India has to pay every year as interest to the capitalists in England for the money we borrowed from them, on very cheap interest, for the construction of our railways, canals, and for other improvements of our country. We could have very easily made twice as many railways and canals in India with our own capital if we had only wished to do so, and thus should have

A million and a quarter men busy in rendering useless India's capital.

ourselves enjoyed the enormous sums of money which go out annually in the shape of interest.

We quite know that it is our ornaments and jewellery which are often the causes of horrible dacoities, constant thefts, and numerous loss of children's life, but with all this knowledge, our zeal for trinkets is only growing. Formerly silver and gold ornaments worth Rs. 500 constituted the average of a middle class man's household, but this is now considered incompatible with the dignity of better paid men and the demand and variety of ornaments are consequently on the increase, and gold ornaments are now replacing silver ones. Formerly it was considered improper to wear gold ornaments at the ankle, but I now find heavy gold anklets being introduced in some families related to mine.

If our popular "leaders" should pay part of their attention to this social reform, and preach the advantages of employing our capital on profitable business it will greatly add to the prosperity of the country

The ever-increasing demand in India for gold and silver is chiefly due to our customs

Our social customs and mode of living mainly responsible for the absorption of gold and silver.

and mode of living. When we shall have learned to spend our money on better houses, better food, better clothing, and better sanitary

environments, our demand for gold and silver will naturally decrease.

As a matter of fact, we now generally live like the poor and helpless people of the advanced countries and so long as this state of affairs continues, absorption of gold and silver will also continue.

CHAPTER XVIII.

IS INDIA BECOMING RICHER OR POORER?

The wealth of India was handed down as a tradition from Roman times, and has for centuries been an accepted belief in Europe. There is usually an element of truth in such belief, and the tradition of wealth of this country appeared to rest on a very solid basis. In the first place, India has always been the greatest accumulator of the precious metals known to commerce. Besides her own production of gold, by no means inconsiderable even in ancient times, India absorbed bullion to an extent which seemed, to the economists of bygone centuries, to threaten the depletion of Europe. But in the power of amassing gold and silver, India is unquestionably richer now than ever. There is yet another sense in which India appeared to our ancestors to be a very wealthy country. It had a number of kings and princes, and the lavish magnificence alike of the imperial and of the local courts seemed a proof of the inexhaustible riches of the people. The early travellers never realised that India was of the size of twenty European Kingdoms, and that the Indian courts must be compared in number and display, not with the palace of his own single sovereign at home, but with all the courts of Europe. The Indian princes, moreover, were compelled by the absence of any system of national credit, to hoard great sums with a view to meeting sudden demands, such as the mutiny of their troops or the rebellion of a too powerful kinsman. These hoards they kept to a large extent in precious gems, so that the national reserve fund was also

a principal means of courtly display. The enormous cash balances of the British Government, however, are hidden away in strong rooms out of sight, while the peacock throne blazed with its diamonds before the eyes of every foreign ambassador and traveller. It is these ambassadors and travellers which are at the bottom of India's reputation for its fabulous wealth. As a matter of fact, however, former accounts of India's riches dwindle into insignificance when compared with its present wealth.

The Presidency cities are visible proofs of the increasing wealth of India. "There is more accumulated wealth," says Dr. Hunter, "held by natives in two cities of British India—Calcutta and Bombay—cities which a couple of centuries ago were mud hut hamlets—than all the treasures of the imperial and local courts under the Moghul Empire." The population of each of these two commercial chief towns of the country now exceeds a million, and they are studded with innumerable imposing buildings, and abound in large prosperous commercial firms and thriving mills, which annually transact business of hundreds of millions, and provide work for several hundred thousands of poor Indians.

The grand palatial buildings of Calcutta which are occupied by European officers and merchants do not belong to them, but are owned by Indians who realise rent at very high rates from their European occupants.

We should be very cautious in forming opinion as to the accuracy of narratives about old accounts of India's wealth. old India, because the accounts of ancient India were written, and are being written, long

After the actual occurrences of events described. We are told, for instance, about the ancient city of *Kanauj*, that its surrounding wall measured about thirty miles, and that it contained thirty thousand shops of *betel-sellers*. These same writers inform us that when the invaders of Ghazni raided India and conquered Punjab, they returned with a rich booty consisting of 700,000 *dinars* or gold coins, in cash, 700 maunds of gold and silver articles, 200 maunds of pure gold and 2,000 maunds of silver, and 20 maunds of jewellery. The same raiders are said to have carried away on another occasion, from Muttra, one hundred camel loads of silver goods and five gold idols weighing 20 maunds. A third time when they invaded Somnath, the 56 pillars of the famous temple were studded with precious jewels. The hanging gold bell had a heavy gold chain weighing 200 maunds, and it is estimated that the booty carried away by the invaders this time amounted to one hundred millions. Nadir Shah is reported to have carried away from India booty worth 700 millions, of which the peacock throne alone was worth seventy millions.

Taking a camel load to be equivalent to ten maunds, and *dinar* equal to sixteen rupees, and the cost per *tola* (weight of one rupee) of silver and gold respectively at one rupee and twenty-five rupees, and supposing the average price of costly jewellery to be at Rs. 200 per *tola*, the whole booty referred to above, besides the 700 millions of Nadir Shah, amounts to less than 18 crores or 180 millions. This coupled with Nadir Shah's rich booty including the peacock throne and all other treasures amounts to less than one thousand millions. And according to the statement of the

Secretary of State for India in Parliament on 12th May

Comparison of old 1919, the price of silver only which
with new. India absorbed during the four years

of the great European war, was half as much again as all
the rich booty carried away from India by so many foreign
invaders on various occasions as mentioned above.

In ancient India the rulers regarded their kingdoms

Formerly a country's
wealth was regarded
as private property of
the Ruler,

as their private property, from which
they drew what they pleased. Their
courts blazed with gold and jewels
giving a 'false idea of the wealth

of the country. But now the wealth of a country
is judged by the prosperity of the people, and it is our
object to show in this chapter whether India, judged by
this standard, is poorer or richer than before.

At present the total amount of exports and imports

A country can be
wealthy only by means
of extension of trade.

is considered as a very good test of
the wealth of a country. They
show how much a people have to
sell and how much they can afford

to buy. An increase of commerce therefore denotes a
increase of wealth. The ignorant and half-educated
all ages and in all countries have looked upon the past
as the golden age and the present as the iron age. But
history unquestionably testifies to the fact that instead of
the old times in India being peaceful and favourable to
the growth of industries and commerce, the frontiers
were subject to frequent invasions, constant wars
prevailed, provinces were swept clean by the Mahratta
cavalry, and the whole country was infested with robbers,
thugs, dacoits, and suffered from Pindari raids. Times
however, have now changed, crime has been suppressed

the country has been to a very large extent freed from robbers, thugs, dacoits, and highwaymen; the Mahra'ta roads and the Pindari raids are now a thing of the past, and peace and quiet reigns all over the country. The construction of roads and railways has greatly improved the means of communication and transport, and canals and other improved means of irrigation have considerably enhanced the annual produce of the land, now then is it possible that Indian commerce should have been flourishing more in ancient India than at present. When the produce of India is decidedly larger than before on account of the developed resources of the country, it is physically impossible that the commerce of our country in old days should have exceeded its present extent, or in other words, the people should have been more prosperous then. If anarchy and confusion are incompatible with peace and prosperity, and if peace and prosperity are the natural outcome of order and good government, the inference is plain, that the prosperity of our country must have increased through peace and suppression of crime.

Mr. Manmohan Ghose, the Bengal delegate to the Harmful custom of worshipping the past, England, remarked thus some years ago in Calcutta :—

“ I felt a legitimate pride in the ancient civilisation of India, but I was bound to say that an undue and exaggerated veneration for the past was doing a great deal of mischief. It was quite sickening to hear the remark made at almost every public meeting that the ancient civilisation of India was far superior to that which Europe ever had.”

Dr. Bhandarker, one of the most eminent Indian scholars, has similarly remarked :—

“Here I feel myself in duty bound, even at the risk of displeasing some of you, to make passing allusion to the most uncritical spirit that has come over us of praising ourselves and our ancestors indiscriminately, seeing nothing but good in our institutions, and in our ancient literature, asserting that the ancient Hindus had made very great progress in all the sciences—physical, moral, and social, and the arts—greater even by far than Europe has made hitherto and denying even the most obvious deficiencies in our literature, such as the absence of satisfactory historical records, and our most obvious defects. As long as this spirit exists in us, we can never hope to throw light on our ancient history, and on the excellencies and defects of our race, and never hope to rise.”

Keeping in view the healthy advice of both these

(1) Enormous growth of foreign trade.

Indian patriots, we should bear in mind that eighty years ago, the total exports and imports of our country in the year 1840, amounted to Rs. 19,00,00,000 (or 19 millions) whereas in 1917-18, the corresponding total exceeded Rs. 4,00,00,00,000 (4,000 millions), that is to say that Indian commerce has multiplied twenty times within the past eighty years. We have pointed out before that an increase of commerce denoted an increase of wealth, and when our commerce has increased to such an extent, increase in the wealth of our country is inevitable. The aim of commerce is to sell

produce in the most favourable market, and to secure as large a profit as possible. The greater the produce, the larger the profit, particularly when we have to sell more and purchase less.

Notwithstanding steady reduction in the rates of Government revenue, the annual increase in the income under the head

(2) Area under crop has largely increased.

“Land revenue” distinctly shows that the area under cultivation is increasing year by year. Not only has far more land been brought under cultivation, but the crops are very much larger and the harvest more certain through 66,200 miles of irrigation canals.

“The margin of cultivation has rapidly extended on all sides. Where formerly the roar of the tiger broke the stillness of the sleeping jungle, the busy hum can be heard of the multitude reaping the golden harvest. A more careful cultivation has also enabled valuable crops to take the place of less valuable crops wheat is now grown on land which formerly yielded nothing but a poor crop of *joar* or *bajra*.”—[Mr. T. N. Mukerji—in “The Indian Nation.”]

Improved means of communication and transport have resulted in a larger export of Indian produce, the enormous profit on the sale of which, has benefited the agricultural classes of our country which form the bulk of its population.

India now supplies the whole world with jute. Its cotton crop is the second largest in the world. It sends abroad very large quantities of rice, wheat, and oil-seeds. In fact it pays its bill for imports and merchandise and treasure, and discharges its other international debts mainly by the sale of agricultural produce.

Foremost among the results of British rule, which (3) Development of have materially benefited India, is industries. the development of new industries and the growth of great centres of trade. Commercial cities in the proper sense of the term did not exist in ancient India. The development of city life in India has led to the growth of a new industrial career for the people. Formerly the industries of India were essentially domestic manufactures, each man working at his own hereditary occupation at his own loom, or at his own forge. Under British rule a new era of production has arisen in India—an era of production on a great scale, based upon the co-operation of capital and labour in place of the small household manufactures of ancient times. The enormous growth of cotton and jute industries, which owe their existence to the new commercial life developed by the cities of British India, has resulted in importing a vast amount of treasure from foreign countries, which has gone into the pockets of the Indian cultivators. Besides these rural industries, there are a number of manufactures and productions which more specially appertain to the industrial development of great towns. Coal mines have been discovered in several provinces and now employ hundreds of thousands of Indian miners. Mills and steam factories have followed the opening up of the coal-fields. All these mills and factories mean substantial gain to the country and its people.

"The English," says Dr. Hunter, "have had to build up from the very foundations, the fabric of a civilised Government. The material framework for such a Government—its court houses, public

(4) India enriched by public buildings, roads, railways, and irrigation canals.

buildings, barracks, jails, post offices, railway stations, hospitals, colleges, and schools—have cost more than 1,500 millions."

This estimate refers to public buildings that were in existence forty years ago. It would be much less than the actual estimate, if we double the figures for the grand and imposing public buildings which have been erected during the last half century. There were 1,30,000 miles of roads and 36,286 miles of railways open in 1917. The length of irrigation canals including the smaller branches is estimated at 66,200 miles. In 1918 there were 78,714 miles of telegraph lines. The railways, bridges, irrigation canals, and telegraph lines constitute by themselves very valuable property, and have greatly improved the resources of the country, provided employment for millions of poor Indians and enhanced the income of the people. Roads and railways have enabled such produce of the country to be brought to market, as was formerly unsaleable. The private buildings by which India has been enriched during the last century far exceed in value the public buildings.

These public and private buildings of the value of thousands of millions add to the country's capital, and do not point to the poverty of the country to which they belong.

The nature of our purchases at once discloses the extent of our prosperity. In former days the Indians used leaves of trees or earthenwares at their meals, now they use copper and brass utensils and even precious crockery. This is one of the earliest evidences of improvement in the general condi-

(5) The nature of imports shows increasing wealth of India.

tion of the people. In the year 1917-18 copper and brass utensils worth Rs. 2,75,00,000 were imported into India.

Enormous quantity of imported sugar is consumed in India. In the same year, sugar worth Rs. 15,32,00,000 came to India from Java, Mauritius, China, Egypt, and Germany. The consumption of sugar in our country is growing fast. The average quantity of sugar used by every person in India far exceeds the corresponding average in many other European countries. Impoverished people cannot afford to go on increasing their expenditure on a thing which is after all a luxury.

Our wants have greatly increased and we have to meet these wants by the sale of our produce. Increased wants, however, are a sign of increased prosperity. If we now feel a desire for better houses, better clothing and better food, and find ourselves more or less in a position to satisfy that desire, it must be assumed that we have greater means, *i.e.*, greater wealth, at our command than formerly.

In the year 1916-17, India purchased 4,778 motor cars worth twenty-one millions and a half; tobacco worth twelve millions and a half; liquors worth twenty-five millions; glass, fifteen millions; matches, eleven millions and a quarter; bicycles, two millions; clocks and watches, two millions; children's toys, four millions; umbrellas, four millions; and fireworks, one million.

These imports show that the people now care more for their personal comfort, and that as the people of India have now more money than before, they can buy several articles which may be called rather the *luxuries* than the *necessaries* of life.

The large import of foreign umbrellas, for instance, which are used not only by the rich, but also by the poor, proves that our umbrella purchasing power has increased five times of what it was ten years before. Similar is the case with other imports.

Expenditure on liquor, and opium, and on litigation is increasing, and these obviously require large sums of money.

The springing up of large cities like Calcutta, Bombay, Madras, and Rangoon, which are entirely the creations of the British rule, cannot be said to be the outcome of the growing poverty of a country. If you are the resident of a town, then enquire and ascertain for yourself if there are not now many more and much better houses in the town than there were fifty years ago, and whether these better houses have not been built with money earned within the same period; whether the prices of house sites have not greatly risen, and the rate of interest considerably fallen since 1860. If you live in a village, you might enquire if the price of agricultural land has not greatly risen, and the houses which were built of mud and thatch fifty years ago, are not now built of much better materials with tiled roofs. You might also ascertain whether artisans, cooks, domestic servants, agricultural and other labourers do not now get higher wages than they did fifty or even thirty years ago. You might further enquire if the sons and grandsons of those who formerly went about in a *langoti* (narrow strip of loin cloth) do not now wear *dhoti* (leg dress), jackets and

(6) The springing up of new cities is a sign of general prosperity.

headaddresses. You might ask whether the villagers do not now possess household utensils made of brass and copper in place of the earthenware utensils which alone their forefathers could afford fifty years ago. You will find that the oldest inhabitants of towns and villages would be able to supply you with valuable information on the above and other similar points.

Increasing income from railways, post offices and telegraphs, the springing up of a large number of banks, invested capital, and the enormous money transactions, large mills and factories worked by steam engines and electricity, which now support millions of poor Indians, the sum of two hundred millions in petty deposits at the post office savings banks—these and many other similar facts in no way suggest the growing poverty of a country.

We have seen that the absorption of gold and silver by India has increased marvellously.

(8) Increasing absorption of gold and silver. Is it credible that a country that was steadily being impoverished by its present system of government could absorb about four hundred millions worth of precious metals every year, preferring them to the necessities of life? In the preceding chapter we have quoted an extract from the budget speech of the Hon'ble Sir James Meston delivered in the Imperial Legislative Council, in response to which another Hon'ble Member declared in the full Council that during the four years' period of the great European war 1,20,00,00,000 silver rupee coins were converted into ornaments.

The currency of a country is a good test of its comparative wealth. In former times (9) Disappearance of cowries were largely used as money. 4,096 cowries were reckoned equal to one rupee. At the beginning of the last century it was said of poor Bengalis "that they think in cowries." Up till 1820 the revenue of Sylhet, then a district of Eastern Bengal, was paid in cowries of which 700 millions had annually to be sent to Dacca. These cowries have now altogether disappeared from the country, and are nowhere to be found. Even copper coins are not much in evidence as people now prefer to have one-anna and two-anna pieces instead. Currency notes and bank cheques are becoming more popular.

Twenty years ago, during the famine of the year 1896-97 wheat was selling at seven seers per rupee, and cloth was cheap, yet there was a universal outcry that life had become a burden to the people and that if the rate went up higher the whole of India would die of starvation. Men and women servants were willing to serve for simple food. I know many men and women who willingly became slaves of well-to-do people merely on the promise of being fed once a day. Compared to this state of affairs, wheat now sells at less than five seers a rupee, the cost of ordinary cloth is four times higher, but there is no general outcry due to this extraordinary scarcity, and what is most remarkable, domestic servants—men or women—are totally scarce now. The rise in the monthly pay of servants is immaterial, the trouble is they cannot be had at all. In my own place I recently requested a pessimist, who

(10) Domestic servants not available now.

was dilating upon the poverty of the people of these times, to introduce me to an able-bodied man or woman who slept with hungry stomach. I was not shown any, but was informed in a way of protest that it was not the old poorer classes who were the sufferers now because by the opening of new industrial careers and increased wages they were now doing well, but that it was the middle classes who were now overtaken by poverty and were the real sufferers. This gentleman who on my enquiry admitted himself to belong to the middle classes, and was dissatisfied with his pecuniary circumstances, was wearing Solah hat and dress to suit it, worth about Rs. 50 !

It is needless to try to find out what has been said or

(11) Every person should judge of his own condition.

written about the poverty and prosperity of India by such a distinguished writer or great man. Every

man must see and judge, for himself, his own personal income, his own house and furniture, his dress and food, and his way of living, and decide for himself in what way and to what extent it differs from the condition of his forefathers; the comparison will at once reveal the fact whether his circumstances and environments are better or worse than before.

We do not mean that every individual in India is

(12) We do not mean that poverty does not now exist in India.

now happy or that poverty has altogether disappeared from India. The poorest classes are still very poor, but then poor and miserable men

have existed and still exist in every age and in every land. But by all economic tests that can be applied, it is clear that even their condition is improving.

As is the case in other countries, poor classes do exist in India too. But this poverty of certain parts of India is the direct and inevitable result of the over-population of those parts of India. The mass of husbandmen are living in defiance of economic laws. A people of small cultivators cannot be prosperous, if they marry irrespective of the means of subsistence, and allow their numbers to outstrip the food-producing powers of the soil, and be at the same time absolutely unwilling to migrate to less congested areas.

The permanent remedies for such poverty of India rests with the people themselves: The late Sir Madhav Row was one of the ablest Hindu statesmen of modern times. He thus points out the need of reform in some Indian customs: "The longer one lives, observes and thinks, the more deeply does one feel that there is no community on the face of the earth, which suffers less from political evils and more from self accepted or self-created and therefore avoidable evils than the Hindu community." , ,

There is yet another unfortunate circumstance, that agriculture forms almost the sole occupation of the mass of the population and that no remedy for present evils can be complete which does not include the introduction of a diversity of occupations, through which the surplus population may be drawn from agricultural pursuits and led to find the means of subsistence in manufactures or some such support. The gradual development of industrial resources of the country, the springing up of commercial centres and consequent enhancement of trade, have

already been dealt with. But it requires ample time to provide occupation for all the 330 million people with conservative tendencies.

In this chapter we have sought to determine whether

the condition of the Indian people is

Conclusion,

better or worse for British rule.

There can be no doubt that after making allowance for the difficulties and disadvantages which the necessary changes from the mediæval to modern India have involved, the answer is that "it is far better, and what is best of all, there are undoubted signs that it is slowly but steadily improving."

Food is dearer, but wages are higher even for the lowest classes. The country is being rapidly opened up. Millions of acres that once scarcely grew enough grass to feed goats now bear harvests so ample in good years that India is able to export, after her people have been supplied with the necessaries of life, vast quantities of food-stuffs, receiving in return hundreds of millions of rupees. Land is worth far more than it was, and almost every class of population lives better than formerly, while beginnings have been made of great industries enriching hundreds of thousands of Indians.

CHAPTER XIX.

"THE DRAIN" OR THE HOME CHARGES.

Some writers and speakers spare no pains in leading their fellow-countrymen to believe that British administration of India has in no sense been an advantage to the country, and that the British people are foreigners who come to India for a time only, and do not make

their homes in this country, and that consequently a considerable portion of India's wealth is "drained away" into a foreign land, leaving India poor and miserable. India, they say, has been sending away, year after year, from 400 to 600 millions as her annual *tribute* to England, and that this tribute, for which not a penny is received in return, has pauperised India. The impression is given that the English are a flight of harpies preying upon the country, or so many leeches sucking the blood of India. Facts, however, tell a different tale altogether. As has already been shown in detail in the preceding chapters, India, far from being impoverished, is now more prosperous than it was ever before. The words of Burke, applied to England last century, exactly represent the state of some of our countrymen's feeling in India at present: "These birds of evil presage at all times have grated our ears with their melancholy song, and by some strange fatality or other, it has generally happened that they have poured forth their loudest and deepest lamentations at the period of our most abundant prosperity."

The fact is that our women folk being absolutely uneducated, we have no "home training," our powers of observation, comparison, and judgment are seldom cultivated in the earlier stages of life, and we do not learn to independently think for ourselves. When I was under training as a pupil teacher at the Government Training College, Lahore, in the year 1900, there were about twenty-five graduates—M. A's. and B. A's.—in our senior class. Our well-known Principal, Mr. Knowlton, once enquired how many *toes*

the camel had. He put this question simultaneously as well as individually to all the educated young men in the class, but *none* could give the correct answer. The reason is not far to seek. We daily see a number of camels but we were never taught to *observe* any part of his body. Some said a camel had five toes, some said four, while others pointed out it had no toes at all but a completely circular foot ! Similarly our Principal once asked one of us one afternoon to show him a planet. Every one of us was straining his eyes upwards to the heavens to see if any was visible in the daytime; none thought of the huge solid earth under our feet. Unobservant, unenquiring, unthoughtful, having no sense of proportion and not used to independent thinking, we are simple enough to believe anything. Consequently ours is a land of strange beliefs. The bulk of our countrymen still seriously believe that the earth rests on a cow's horn, and that the cow, in order to relieve that horn of hers of the enormous burden, occasionally shakes it off to the other horn, and the consequent jerk is felt by the occupants of the globe as an earthquake. With the exception of very few, the people generally believe in the existence of demons and fairies on the Caucasus mountains which is universally believed to be the land's end on all sides. Many are convinced that the Himalayas which are the abode of gods constitute the earth's boundary. As it is almost impossible to shake off these time-honoured false beliefs from the minds of the vast majority of ignorant masses, it is equally impracticable to persuade some of our persistent semi-educated young men to give up the crazy notions of India's impoverishment under the British rule.

This oft-repeated poverty grievance of the new generation of young Indians is chiefly based on their utter ignorance of the real condition of affairs. The words of Sir John Strachey may be appropriately quoted even now:—

Ignorance of true state of affairs at the root of all misunderstanding.

“These institutions give, in the English language, more or less good imitation of the purely scholastic part of an ordinary English education, but the young men of India learn in them almost nothing about their country or about the Government under which they live, and least of all are they taught to be good and loyal citizens.”

The mischief due to ignorance of the actual condition of affairs is growing and creating among the imperfectly educated classes antipathy, bitterness and hatred towards the present Government of the country. This is, as a matter of course, harmful to the country itself.

The British Government on the one hand is too powerful and too considerate, while the bulk of the population too deeply sunk in ignorance to be appreciably affected by any hostile vituperation campaign. We are simply retarding our progress towards the goal, by assuming an unfriendly attitude while a conciliatory attitude and friendly co-operation with the Government alone is responsible for all the progress we have already achieved and can bring about the consummation of India's bliss.

It has been amply demonstrated in the foregoing chapters that India has immensely gained during a century of British control, and enjoys good government and security of person and property which it never

enjoyed before. All the good that has accrued so far to India is certainly not the result of any coercion but of good intentions on the part of the Government and friendly co-operation on the part of the people.

Those who say that India's prosperity suffers from "the drain" assert that the whole of what are called the "Home charges" are a drain on India's wealth. They declare that all Indian expenditure incurred in England is in the nature of a *tribute* paid by India to England, and that England is draining India of its wealth for her own benefit.

We have already placed obvious and broad facts before our readers to judge for themselves independent of whether India was becoming poorer or richer, and it is now our object to show that "no enormous" and ruinous tribute is exacted from India to be spent in England. Whatever India pays to England, it pays on pure business lines and entirely in its own interest.

The amount which India annually remits to England is very often highly exaggerated and occasionally misstated, although the Government make no secret of the transaction, and annually publishes in the official Budget estimates all the items constituting the home charges. In the Budget report for the year 1919-20 recently published by the Government of India, we find that the total of home charges for the preceding year amounted to 345 millions of rupees (23 millions sterling).

It should be borne in mind that the actual income of India for the year 1917-18 aggregated about 1,750

illions, of which all the receipts from railways came up to 700 millions, and deducting the working expenditure incurred during the year, the net income to the Government under this head amounted to Rs. 362 millions. By quoting these figures we mean to point out that India's net income from railways far exceeded the total amount of all the annual home charges.

The home charges include three items of expenditure incurred in England for items constituting home charges. India :—

(1) India has to pay interest at low rates for the capital with which it has constructed the material frame-work of its industrial life—its railways, irrigation works, cotton mills, coal mines, indigo factories, tea gardens, docks, steam navigation lines and debt. For that capital it goes into the cheapest market in the world, London, and it remits the interest, not in cash, but in her own staples, which that capital has enabled it to produce, and to bring to the sea-board. We have shown elsewhere that our countrymen are averse to profitably investing their money at a cheap rate of interest—hence the need of borrowing capital from foreign bankers. About half the amount of home charges (nearly 170 millions) goes towards the payment of this interest on English capital.

(2) India has to purchase stores, materials, etc., of all kinds worth about 75 millions for the Public Works, construction of railways, bridges, and irrigation canals, which India has hitherto been unable to produce and which can be bought more cheaply in England. For every rupee thus spent, India has had each year an equivalent in steel, iron or manufactures.

The payment of these two items of home charges in fact represents a real bargain for India, as it receives in return capital and materials to develop the resources of the country.

(3) The remaining amount of the home charge covers all other expenses incurred in England for the "good government" of India to which we owe the peace and security that alone have rendered possible our country's industrial development. This sub-head of home charges includes the salaries of the supervising staff in England (the India Office), the furlough allowances, the pensions and gratuities of the whole military and civil services, who have given their life work to India, the munitions of war, a section of the army including the cost of its recruitment and transport.

India's expenditure on "good government" is as essential an item for its industrial development as it repays it as high a profit, as the interest which it pays in England for the capital with which it has constructed its dockyards, railways and canals. Now these are the details of the home charges which have long constituted a standing grievance and which has from time to time led to the publication of sensational misleading articles headed "Spoilation of India," "Bleeding to death," etc.—the very reverse of the truth.

[NOTE.—According to the Indian reform scheme sanctioned by Parliament and to be shortly enforced, the expenditure on India Office, the salaries of the Secretary of State for India and his Council, will henceforward be paid from the British Exchequer and will no more be paid by India and thus the amount of home charges will be considerably reduced.]

Some educated people of our country are prone to detest the system of borrowing *foreign* capital, and deplore the payment of large amounts in the shape of annual interest. But they seldom devote their thought to the reality that Indian bankers and capitalists were never willing to part with their capital at so low a rate of interest as three or three and a half per cent per annum. There was no hope of the required amount of capital forthcoming in India, and under the circumstances, if the Government of India had not tried to borrow money from another cheaper market, or the English capitalists should have refrained from lending such enormous sums at such an extraordinarily low rate of interest, to be employed in a distant country, we could not have had our railways bridges, and irrigation canals. Not only has the borrowed English capital helped in the material development of our country, but is invested in railways, canals, and other public works which bring in each year a return of four, five, or seven per cent profit on capital. Sometimes, as in the case of the eastern Jumna canal, the profit is more than 20 per cent, we should remember that when the low rate of three and a half has been paid, the rest stops in our own country. In the case of an investment which pays seven per cent India makes a profit as great as the foreign shareholders make, and has in addition a railway, a canal or some public work, adding to the wealth and fertility of the land.

Even if such an arrangement were looked upon as a simple business transaction, any shrewd man would think himself very clever if he could persuade

somebody to give him the money to buy something he needed very badly, and yet get as much interest on the loan as the lender, while keeping the thing bought.

The importance to a country of public works such as railways and irrigation canals is

How India profits by foreign capital. the increase of national wealth.

The more the land is opened up and new districts made to yield crops, the better and cheaper communications between districts become, the more the wealth of the people increases. Out of this wealth come wages, rent, cartage, and railway charges and the other profits on which the people live. Even if all the profits earned by such a beneficial undertaking as the Jumna canal were paid away to foreign shareholders instead of a sixth part only, India would still profit by such borrowing. For, before any dividends can go to shareholders, there are wages to be paid, work on repairs to be done, local dues to be settled, all sorts of charges in connection with the upkeep of the canal to be met. We must not forget also the enormous initial cost of the work, the very large part of the foreign money that has gone to thousands upon thousands of coolies and other Indian workmen.

The railways, of India, built with English money for the most part, have created a new industry and a new source of wealth. About a million Indians earn a living each year as servants of different railway companies. When other charges have been paid and all their families supported, when the interest due to those in England who lent the money has been paid, even then there is more profit for India.

The benefits which India has gained and will gain in the future from the development of her industries and from cheap means of communication will much more than repay it for the interest it has to remit to England. But at present these truths are very dimly realised.

The pessimists also grumble that those Englishmen who come to India as officials and merchants do not spend all they earn in the country, every year they send some of the money to England where they will spend their years of retirement.

As to officials it is almost impossible to determine how much of their salaries is sent to their homes. Most of them send some money, but it is certain that very few are able to send half their pay away. Many spend all of it in India, and some who have private means spend that or a part of it as well as their pay. Then there is the merchant class. Those who are anxious to make the worst of "the drain" assert that, apart from these known payments, the salaries and the pensions of officials, a large amount—some say that it is as much as 150 millions or even 180 million rupees—representing the surplus earnings of merchant firms is sent out of India yearly. This is more than double the annual pay of all the European officials in India, civil and military, and it is hard to believe that the comparatively few European merchants in India earn more than all the civil and military officials put together. There is no doubt that many British merchant firms do earn handsome profits, and that large sums are sent to England each year. It seems at first sight as if the presence of

English merchants means a sheer loss to India. But this is not so. They also must be reckoned as part of the price India has to pay for its security and its progress. While they make money in India and send perhaps a portion of it out of the country, they are helping India. By their enterprise, skill, wider knowledge and experience, they encourage and increase trade. Sometimes they open up entirely new industries. Take for example the case of jute. The whole of this wonderful industry supporting thousands of Indians of all classes, is due solely to the energy of British merchants. There can be no better example of what foreigners can do for a country than the history of the jute industry in Bengal. In 1855 the first spinning machinery was brought out to Calcutta from Dundee, and the first mill erected. Eight tons a day was the output at first. It is now nearly 3,000 tons a day. In 1850-51 the value of jute to India was a little over 40 million rupees. In 1908-09 the value rose to 320 millions. India owes an incalculable debt to the men whose energy and ability have endowed it with an industry enriching its people more and more every year.

As regards payments for services rendered to the country, every Government must pay its servants. If there were an Indian instead of a British Government at Delhi, these salaries and pensions would have to be paid. The objectors to "the drain" say:—"Yes, but they would be paid to Indians, and the money would remain in the country. The official serving or pensioned would live and die here." That is perfectly true, and the only answer to this argument is to ask the question "Does India profit in any way as a result of having a

foreign government?" A few minute's consideration will show us that it undoubtedly does.

No one will dispute that it is due to the great power of England, the respect and fear in

Advantages peculiar
to British rule.

which she is held throughout the world that India is safe from foreign

aggression, from which it always has suffered in the past before England took over the government. Thanks, too, to England that peace has been established and maintained throughout the length and breadth of the country.

Now let us suppose that India was independent and had no more to do with the British Empire. In that case a portion of the home charges spent on salaries and pensions to English officers will be saved to India. But that would be only apparent saving, because with no British control, there would be no wonderful British fleet to protect the immense level and unfortified coasts of India. For this protection India now only pays directly the sum of rupees one million and a half. Unless the independent Indian Government wanted to have the country invaded and conquered at once, they would have to build a fleet at an enormous initial cost, and to face the difficulty of properly manning and maintaining it, at the lowest estimate based on the figures of Japan, at a hundred million rupees. Then the Government would have to maintain a diplomatic and consular service. To-day India has the use of the British services all over the globe. But that is a small matter compared with another reason for the answer we have given to the question whether India profits by British control.

That is that the *credit* of England behind the Indian

Government enables India to borrow

Unique advantage to
India of British credit,

at a rate cheaper than many first
class powers can do. At the very

least India can borrow two per cent cheaper than Japan. India's debt in 1914 was rather more than 4,500 million rupees. If it had not been for England, India would have to pay another 90 millions each year as interest; more and more as the country is developed and industries grow and enrich the land, India's gain will increase. For more and more capital must be borrowed, if India is to progress, and on every 1,000 million rupees it needs, it will pay 20 millions less, because it is part of the British Empire.

We see then that while there is a drain of India's money to England, it is no real loss. If there were any other Indian government, there would be salaries and pensions to pay; but in addition there would be the cost of a fleet, of diplomatic and consular service, and the borrowing of money needed to develop the country would cost more than it does now. It is doubtful if any other government would be able to borrow even at six or seven per cent. It certainly could not do so unless its defences were perfect. India cannot have the solid advantage of the British credit and the British fleet without paying the salaries and pensions of British officials. The drain is thus the price that India must pay for her security, and a very low price it is.

CHAPTER XX.

CONCLUSION.

In the Urdu version of this book is quoted under this head, an extract from the well-known Raja Shiv Parshad, C. I. E., of Benares' book "*Aina-i-tarikh Numa*," pointing out how India has been transformed under British rule since the battle of Plassey. "The land," says the distinguished historian, "which could not formerly yield grass to feed the cattle, now abounds in rich crops ; the land-holders who were frequently arrested and harassed for non-payment of Government dues, now pass a peaceful, quiet and happy life, and enriched by the system of permanent settlement are able to punctually pay the Government revenue ; costly carriages are now seen running on the (rough) paths which even the goat was once afraid to traverse ; where a bullock-cart was not available even for gold *mohars*, people travel in railways on payment of a few *pice* ; the distance which no messenger ventured to traverse is now annihilated by telegraph and telephone lines ; lonely routes which even large *caravans* never dared to cross are now fearlessly and safely traversed by a single old woman with gold bars in her hands ; where business was transacted to the extent of hundreds, we find it expanded into the transaction of thousands of millions ; labourers who could hardly earn a stomachful of parched gram during the whole day, now earn from annas eight to rupees three per day ; the cultivators who could not afford even to have a *langoti* (narrow strip of cloth) for the loins, now carry *kardhanis* (heavy silver chains) round their waist.

The roads, railways, bridges, and canals, the hospitals, the colleges and schools, the police and courts of justice, the laws and regulations, the arts and sciences, the ease and luxurious comforts, the peace and security, the incalculable facilities for general progress—all these are things which were not seen by the eye before, nor heard by the ear. Mountains, forests and wildernesses have actually been converted into the garden of Eden."

The original book ends with an extract from the most popular and widely read "Musaddas" (poem) written by the famous national poet of the Indian Mahomedans, Shams-ul-ulama Khwaja Altaf Hasain, better known as "Hali," which deals with peculiar features of the British rule.

In these lines of his poem the venerable poet persuades the Indian Musalmans to be up and doing, to appreciate and avail themselves of British toleration, freedom, perfect peace and security and particularly of the opportunities offered for progress and development.

The poet further points out to the Indian Mahomedans that they are free to follow the dictates of their own religion, that there is none to interfere with the commandments of the Quran and the Prophet's traditions, and they have full liberty to publicly announce their prayer times and say prayers in their mosques—that every one is free to travel and go where he likes, that commercial and industrial careers are open to all, that any one can acquire learning in public schools and colleges and find ways and means of earning livelihood, that there is no more any danger of enemy's assault while at home nor any risk of robbers and

highwaymen out of doors—that the distances which took months to cross can now be traversed in hours, that the jungles have been converted into blooming gardens, that travelling, which was formerly considered a trouble and was risky, is now a pleasure and source of prosperity, that the telegraph is busy in transmitting every moment's news to and from every quarter of the globe, and no incident or event happening anywhere on the face of the earth can now remain concealed—that many caravans have gone ahead, others are preparing to proceed on their journey and many are regretting the delay in starting, but that it is the Mahomedans alone who were still sleeping regardless of their forthcoming long and tedious journey. Ye Mahomedans, do not look upon your friends (the British Government) as your foes, do not suppose that your guides are robbers. Blame others afterwards. First judge for yourself if your own habits and manners are good or otherwise.”

CHAPTER XXI.

AN IMPORTANT QUESTION ANSWERED.

“Is England ruling India primarily for the benefit of herself or that of India?”

If the first and chief aim of England in India is trade, is it to lose money to her or to make money for England?”

The question ignores human nature.

The question, which has been put by an esteemed Indian correspondent, ignores human nature as well as the ordinary alternative of mutual benefit in a case in which the real interests of two parties are identical, and both are benefiting each other even when merely seeking

their own gain. "Altruism" is a word of modern origin—not even a 100 years old—and represents no independent human attribute or aspect of human nature beyond a manifestation of "self-love," which has resulted in the formation of "society." "Self-love" or the desire of "self-preservation" is, however, the most universal instinct common to all animals including human beings. No individual or State exists or can exist absolutely free from "self-love" from a desire to exist, survive and to excel. "Struggle for existence" and "survival of the fittest" are mere functions of this instinct. Human nature is much the same all the world over. Even if it should be alleged—which surely no one can prove—that England rules India purely from selfish motives, selfishness is not confined to England. Eighteen centuries ago the Apostle Paul wrote "All seek their own." A farmer raises grain simply for his own profit, although other people would *starve* if he did not. A shopkeeper does not commence business for the benefit of the public, and he sells the best articles at the lowest rates he can, simply to attract custom, but the customers are in their turn benefited and cannot do without him. Granting that the English are selfish, it is for their own interest that the people of India should be rich and prosperous. There have existed and still exist other nations besides the British, as wealthy and as prosperous as the English, without necessarily having an India of their own to *enrich* them, but it will turn out to be a futile attempt to prove that India ever before achieved that standard of moral and material progress which it enjoys to-day under the civilizing British rule.

The English originally came to India as traders, but stopped here to prove a blessing to the country.

It would be as childish and untrue to claim that the English struggled to become supreme in India purely from motives of philanthropy, as it would be to assert that the East India Company promoted the indigo and silk industry from a love of the Indians, or that Clive accepted the *Diwani* simply because he was convinced that the people of Bengal were ground down under a grasping and corrupt body of tax collectors—yet it is a fact that as soon as the Company was induced to pay attention to indigo and silk for trade purposes, and as soon as the British acquired an interest in the revenue of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa, *the Indians began to benefit.*

The proper form of the proposed question.

The proper form of the question, under the circumstances, should have been--

“whether or not England is ruling India with the best of motives and to the greatest benefit to India and the Indians?”

or

“whether or not the foreign rule of England has proved a blessing to India as compared to all preceding foreign rules?”

It is admitted that a “good government” is no substitute for “self-government.” India, however, has never governed herself. She has been invaded time and again. All her rulers have been conquerors, as alien to their subjects as the British themselves, and holding their sovereignty by no older or better title.

Indian policy of England.

Now as regards the motives of the British nation, I refer the esteemed enquirer to the Charter of the East India Company when it came up for revision before the British Parliament in the year 1833. In discussing the provisions, both the Houses of the Parliament unanimously agreed to the principle that "the strength of the government would be increased by the happiness of the people over whom it presided, and by the attachment of those nations to it."

No educated Indian can ever forget the famous pronouncement made by Lord Macaulay in the House of Commons on this occasion, and the magnificent peroration containing his great *prophecy* about the future of India:—

"Are we to keep the people of India ignorant in order that we may keep them submissive? or do we think that we can give them knowledge without awakening ambition or do we mean to awaken ambition and to provide it with no legitimate vent? Who will answer any of these questions in the affirmative? Yet every one of them must be answered in the affirmative by every person who maintains that we ought permanently to exclude the natives from high office. I have no fears. The path of duty is plain before us; and it is also the path of wisdom, of national prosperity, of national honour. The destinies of our Indian Empire are covered with thick darkness. It is difficult to form any conjecture as to the fate reserved for a State which resembles no other in history, and which forms by itself a separate class of political phenomena. The

laws which regulate its growth and its decay are still unknown to us. It may be that the public mind of India may expand under our system till it has outgrown that system; that by good government we may educate our subjects into a capacity for better government; that having become instructed in European knowledge they may in some future age demand European institutions. Whether such a day will ever come I know not. But never will I attempt to avert or to retard it. Whenever it comes IT WILL BE THE PRODEST DAY IN ENGLISH HISTORY. To have found a great people sunk in the lowest depths of slavery and superstition, to have so ruled them as to have made them *desirous* and *capable* of all the privileges of citizens would indeed be a title to glory all our own. The sceptre may pass away from us. Unforeseen accidents may derange our most profound schemes of policy. Victory may be inconstant to our arms. But there are triumphs which are followed by no reverse. There is an Empire exempt from all natural causes of decay. Those triumphs are the pacific triumphs of reason over barbarism; that Empire is the imperishable Empire of our arts and our morals, our literature and our laws."

This eloquent plea of Macaulay was in favour of clause 87 of the Charter Act of 1833, which declared that "no natives of the said territories, nor any natural born subject of His Majesty resident therein shall by reason of his religion, place of birth, descent, colour or any of them, be disabled from holding any place, office, or employment under the Company."

The Court of Directors in forwarding the Act of 1833 to the East India Company, accompanied the same with a remarkable despatch in which they observed regarding clause 87—"that there shall be no *governing caste* in British India; that whatever other tests of qualification may be adopted, distinctions of race or religion shall not be of the number."

Referring to this historic debate, the venerable grand-old-man of India—Dadabhai Naoroji pointed out:—

The grand-old-man of India—Dadabhai Naoroji's testimony to the good faith of the British nation.

"At a time when the Indians were in their educational and political infancy, when they did not and could not understand what their political condition then was or was to be in the future, when they had not uttered any complaints, nor demanded any rights or any definite policy towards themselves, the British nation, of their own accord and pleasure, merely from their own sense of their duty towards the millions of India and to the world, deliberately declared before the world what their policy should be towards the people of India. Nor did the British people do this in any ignorance or want of forethought or without the consideration of all possible consequences of the action. Never was there a debate in both the House of Parliament more complete and clear, more exhaustive more deliberately looked at from all points of view and more calculated for the development of statesmanlike policy and practical good sense. The most crucial point of view—that of political danger or of even the

possible loss of India to Britain—was faced with true English manliness; and the British nation, through their Parliament, then settled, adopted, and proclaimed to the world what their policy was to be—*viz.*, THE POLICY OF JUSTICE AND OF THE ADVANCEMENT OF HUMANITY.”

Such were the noble efforts made in the British Parliament to ensure that under the administration of the East India Company, the interests of the people were properly safeguarded and nothing done to check the growth of their legitimate ambition or their political advancement.

When at the end of the great Mutiny, the rule of the Company was put an end to and the Government of India transferred directly to the Crown, the famous Royal Proclamation of 1858 gave further solemnity to the sacred character of the promise contained in the Charter Act of 1833. In explaining the principles of her Government, Her Majesty was justly anxious that the document besides “breathing a feeling of generosity, benevolence, and religious toleration” must also “point out the privileges which the Indians will receive in being placed on an equality with the subjects of the British Crown.” The ideal set by the Great Queen of England to the people of India was solemnly confirmed by her son and grandson.

The noble policy laid down by the British Parliament and sanctified by the Proclamation of Queen Victoria, pledged to be followed by her successors has been from time to time reiterated by a succession of Great British statesmen and Anglo-Indian administrators. Mr. Gladstone “who loved liberty in his old

age even more fully than he loved her in his youth" declared—

"I hold that the capital agent in determining finally the question whether our power in India is or is not to continue will be the will of the two hundred and forty millions of people who inhabit India. The question who shall have supreme rule in India is by the laws of right, an Indian question; and those laws of right are from day to day growing into laws of fact. Our title to be there depends on a first condition—THAT OUR BEING THERE IS PROFITABLE TO THE INDIAN NATIONS; and on a second condition—that we can make them see and understand it to be profitable."

Nature of the British Rule in India.

Beginning from the year 1857 and looking back upon half a century of British administration all but the most perverse and misguided will readily admit that the people of India have not simply been *ruled* by great Britain all along, but have been *raised* in every direction—so much so that the very cry of reforms and changes furnishes the most eloquent testimony that England's rule in India for the last sixty years has been a steady and mighty lever in uplifting the political ideas and aspirations of a people who were innocent of such ideas all through their past history.

The age of chaos and anarchy, when no man's property and the sanctity of no man's house were safe, passed away so long ago that the Indians of to-day have no standard by which to judge, no one amongst them has any personal recollections of those times, and to only a few of the oldest have their fathers and grand-

lathers communicated accounts of the horrors beneath which India then groaned.

British rule has given India *peace*, protected her from foreign invasions, organized famine relief, and fought the disease scientifically. It has opened up the land and making roads and building railways, so that to-day the poorest peasant can travel at a speed and in a degree of comfort beyond the reach of Akbar despite his splendid revenues. Trade has enormously increased, resulting in an amazing increase in the country's wealth and prosperity. The post office is a wonder of skilful organization, the electric telegraphs have annihilated time and space. The engineers have bewitched deserts into fertility, and the schools and colleges have opened for us treasures of Western learning, Freedom of speech and the right of criticism of the ruler's policy, which never existed before, have become the proud privileges of educated Indians. The highest offices in the administration are now open to Indians who now equally share the responsibilities of the Central and Provincial Governments. Legislation is now in the hands of the representatives of the people. Not only the peace and prosperity of the country is due to the English Government but also the very sentiment of *nationality*, of which the Indians are so proud to-day, has its root in Western culture, and has grown by the use of English language as a common medium of intercourse. There cannot be a nation without a common language. It is the declared wish of the English rulers that the growing spirit of nationality should find expression in a form of self-government based on solid foundations at an early date.

Perfection is not claimed.

It is not intended to gloss over those incidents in the story that have been discreditable to the English, or to seek to maintain that the British rule in India is so perfect that it is impossible to improve it. Mistakes have been made, and injustice has been done by British officials and some will be made or done in the future. But taken as a whole the British rule has been a great blessing for the people of India. If individual English officials have occasionally proved a stumbling-block to the progress of the country, there have been others who have largely contributed in making India what it is to-day. Babu Surendra Nath Banerji, the well-known uncrowned king of Bengal, in his speech delivered to support the election of the President of the Congress held at Allahabad in the year 1910, very rightly remarked :—

“ If it is true that the unrest, of which we hear so much, and much of which in the words of Lord Minto, is legitimate, is due to the impact of British influence and of Western civilization, it is true in an equal sense that the public spirit which flows in the bosoms of so many of us, has derived its first impulse and its living inspiration from the examples of great and good Englishmen like Sir William Wedderburn, Mr. Allen Hume, Sir Henry Cotton and others. They lit the torch which now burns in us with a steady flame, and which I trust sooner or later—sooner rather than later—will illumine the whole Indian continent. ”

The Congress in its annual meeting held at Madras in the year 1908, congratulated Mr. Hume as the

father of the Indian National Congress.

on the success of this institution in securing the Minto-Morley reforms.

The Indian National Congress is a noble monument of British rule in India. Never before was such an assembly held and never before could it have been held.

Complaint about the slowness of progress.

Those who complain of the slow rate of India's progress, on the one hand exaggerate the period of actual British rule, and on the other ignore the vastness of this continent and its population, and the immense diversities of its inhabitants which have impeded progress. There are some who point out to Japan as an instance of rapid progress, but they forget that the vast Indian continent lacks that homogeneous national sentiment which animates the small island of Japan.

Progress of social reform very slow;

It has been the considered judgment of the great reformers in all ages and in every country that social reform must precede political reforms. The famous Indian statesman—Sir T. Madhav Rao—in referring to criticisms levelled against British domination, told an Indian audience that so far as the Hindus are concerned—who constitute the overwhelming percentage of the population,—their much talked-of grievances were of their own making.

“The longer one lives, observes and thinks” he said “the more does one feel that there is no community on the face of the earth which suffers less from political evils, and more from self-inflicted, self-accepted or self-created, and therefore avoidable, evils, than the Hindus.”

The Indian leaders who insist on *immediate swaraj* for India, can hardly claim to have achieved any substantial success in combating social evils which have blighted India.

Early marriages, marriages irrespective of the means of support, comparative illiteracy of women, locking up of money in ornaments and jewels instead of employing it profitably, habit of incurring debt for the performance of social rites, misdirected charity, use of intoxicating drugs, unwillingness to emigrate, restrictions of caste, and above all the curse of untouchability—are some of the self-inflicted and remediable causes of Indian poverty and backwardness. The admirers of Japan most probably are fully aware of the fact that the whole modern civilization of this country is on western lines ; whereas our *Swarajists* are inviting India to primitive conditions. If in spite of genuine and combined efforts of all the Indian patriots, the caste restrictions and untouchability practically remain where they were two thousand years ago, the great political progress that has been achieved in the short space of sixty years, deserves all praise for those who at first encouraged it and then allowed it. It is perhaps a very common human failing to overlook the beam in one's own eye, while endeavouring to expose the mote in the eye of a brother.

Exchange of Indian conditions with those obtaining in other countries, not acceptable.

In spite of all the demerits of the present British system of administration in India, no Indian patriot is

likely to give his consent to exchange the present stage of Indian progress with the prevailing condition of affairs in the other "self-governing" countries of China, Afghanistan, Persia, Turkey, and Russia. The moral is too plain to need any comment.

Testimony of Indian patriots.

Having defined the British policy concerning India and briefly explained the nature of the British rule, we quote below the testimony of some distinguished Indian patriots in support of what has been stated above.

(1) At the prize distribution of the Poona Girls' School the **Hon'ble Mr. Justice Ranade** remarked—

"The administration of this country by a handful of men—one for every lakh and more of population, is also a wonderful feat; but even this may find its parallel in the world's history. There is, however, no parallel in the world's history where the representatives of the ruling classes have thought it their duty to strive for the moral and social regeneration of the many millions entrusted to their care."

(2) No less a critic of British administration in India than **Mr. R. C. Dutt** in a speech he delivered at Tanjore, said:—

"He saw progress in all directions under the British Government."

(3) On the occasion the foundation stone of the well-known Aligarh College was being laid the renowned Muslim patriot of India, **Sir Syed Ahmad Khan**

in the address which was presented to Lord Lytton remarked:—

“The British rule in India is the most wonderful phenomenon the world has ever seen. That a race living in a distant region, differing from us in language, in manners, in religion, in short in all that distinguishes the inhabitants of one country from those of another, should triumph over the barriers which nature has placed in its way, and unite under one sceptre the various peoples of this vast continent is in itself wonderful enough. But that they who thus become the masters of this soil should rule its inhabitants not with those feelings and motives which inspired the conquerors of the ancient world, but should make it the first principle of their Government to advance the happiness of the millions of a subject race, by establishing peace, by administering justice, by spreading education, by introducing the comforts of life which modern civilization has bestowed upon mankind, is to us a manifestation of the hand of Providence, and an assurance of long life to the union of India with England.”

(4) At a great Muhammadan meeting in Northern India **Sir Syed Ahmad Khan** thus addressed his co-religionists:—

“My brother Musalmans! You can appreciate these matters, but they cannot who have never held a country in their hands or won a victory. I again remind you that you have ruled nations, and have for centuries held different countries

in your grasp. For 700 years in India you have had imperial sway. You know what is it to rule. Be not unjust to that nation which is now ruling over you. And think also on this—how upright is her rule. Of such benevolence as the English Government shows to the foreign nations under her, there is no example in the history of the world."

(5) Speaking at a meeting of the Students' Brotherhood, Bombay, on 9th October, 1909, the well-known Congress leader—**Mr. Gokhale**—warned young men against the talk of independence which was being indulged in by some extremist speakers and writers and said:—"Our young men must make up their minds about it that there is no alternative to British rule, not only now but for a long time to come, and that any attempts made to disturb it, directly or indirectly, are bound to recoil on our own heads. Moreover, they have to recognize, if they want to be just, that this rule, in spite of its inevitable drawbacks as a foreign rule, has been on the whole a great instrument of progress for our people. Its continuance means the continuance of that peace and order which it alone can maintain in the present circumstances of the country and with which our best interests, among them those of our growing nationality, are bound up. The rulers have promised us equality of treatment, with themselves, and our hope is that this equality will be gradually attained. We on our side have accepted the rule and have promised it our willing allegiance. On the strength of this acceptance, certain privileges have been already conferred on us, and in course of time more are bound to follow.

Self-interest and good faith, therefore, alike require us to harbour no sentiment inconsistent with a continuance of this rule, and our attitude towards it must be one of loyal acquiescence."

(6) In his paper the **Mahratta**, **Mr. Tilak** one of the greatest Indian patriots appealing to his fellow countrymen to help the Government in the Great War wrote :—

"It has been well said that British rule is conferring inestimable benefit on India not only by its civilized methods of administration but also thereby bringing together the different nationalities and races of India, so that a united nation may grow out of it in course of time. I do not believe that if we had any other rulers except the liberty-loving British, they would have conceived and assisted us in developing such a national ideal. Every one who has the interests of India at heart is fully alive to this and similar advantages of the British rule, and the present crisis is, in my opinion, a blessing in disguise inasmuch as it has universally evoked our united feelings and sentiments of loyalty to the British Throne."

(7). **Pandit Bishan Narayan Dar** regarded the British Government as "the greatest gift of Providence to my race." We quote the following from his **Presidential address at the Indian National Congress** held in Calcutta in 1911. His Majesty King George V visited this country that year. Referring to this royal visit Pandit Bishan Narayan Dar said :—

"Gentlemen, we have met to-day on a most auspicious occasion, the eve of the King's visit to this great city—which is likely to make this sitting of the Congress a most memorable one. While about to review the

present political situation, that visit brings most vividly before my mind, as I have no doubt it does before the minds of all of you, the countless blessings we enjoy under the British rule—specially the last fifty years of our direct connection with the British Crown have been marked by great and lasting benefits to the Indian people.

“Peace, order and perfect security of life and property have been secured to us to a degree never known to the old Roman Empire, and even now not to be seen anywhere beyond the limits of the British Empire. A genuine and an active interest in the welfare of the masses, as is shown by its famine, plague sanitation and agrarian measures, is its abiding and noblest feature. Perfect religious and social freedom it has given us unasked; and Railways, Telegraphs, Post Office, and a thousand other instruments and appliances are the means by which it has added to our material comfort and social advancement. The educational system which has immortalised the names of Bentinck and Macaulay is perhaps its greatest gift to the people of India. The spread of English education as it has instructed our minds and inspired us with new hopes and aspirations, has been accompanied by gradual and cautious concessions of political rights, the admission of Indians into the public service, the introduction of Local self-government and the reforms of the Legislative Councils on a partially representative basis.* We have a government whose justice is exemplary and a Civil Service

* This speech was delivered before the introduction of the Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms which have carried India much further along the road of self-government, and responsible government has already been introduced so far as transferred subjects are concerned.

which in ability, integrity, zeal and genuine regard, according to its own lights, for those entrusted to its race, has no rival in the world. When I think of the dependencies ruled by other European Powers, of Algeria and Tonquin under the French, of parts of Africa under the Germans, of the large negro populations in the United States, as the republican Americans treat and govern them, I thank God that I am a British subject, and feel no hesitation in saying that the government of India by England, faulty as it is in many respects, and greatly as it needs to be reformed and renovated from top to bottom, is still the greatest gift of Providence to my race; for England is the only country that knows how to govern those who can not govern themselves."

o Testimony of foreign statesmen.

- (1) *Extract from the speech of the late Colonel Roosevelt, former President of the American Republic, delivered at Washington (January, 1909) :—*

"In India we encounter the most colossal example history affords, of the successful administration, by men of European blood, of a thickly populated region in another continent. It is the greatest feat of the kind that has been performed since the break-up of the Roman Empire. Indeed it is a greater feat than was performed under the Roman Empire. Unquestionably mistakes have been made; it would indicate qualities literally superhuman if so gigantic a task had been accomplished without mistakes. It is easy enough to point out shortcomings, but the fact remains that the

successful administration of the Indian Empire by the English has been one of the most notable and the most admirable achievements of the white race during the past two centuries. On the whole it has been for the immeasurable benefit of the nations of India themselves. There has been a far more resolute effort to secure fair treatment for the humble and oppressed during the days of English rule in India than during any other period of recorded Indian history. England does not draw a penny from India for English purposes; she spends for India the revenues raised in India and they are spent for the benefit of the Indians themselves. . . Undoubtedly India is a less pleasant place than formerly for the heads of tyrannical States. There is now little or no room in it for successful freebooter chieftains, for the despots who lived in gorgeous splendour, while under their cruel rule the immense mass of their countrymen festered in sodden misery. But the mass of the people has been and are far better off than ever before, and far better off than they would now be if English control were now withdrawn from India. If English control were now withdrawn from India, the whole peninsula would become a chaos of bloodshed and violence."

(2) *Extract from the speech of Mr. Taft, ex-President of America, delivered at the American Club in the year 1914.*

"When I think of what England has done in India for the happiness of those people, how she found those many millions torn by internecine strife, disrupted with constant wars unable to continue agriculture, or the arts of peace, with inferior roads, tyranny and oppres-

sion, and when I think what the Government of Great Britain is now doing for these alien races, the debt the world owes England ought to be acknowledged in no grudging manner."

(3) *"Opinions of two impartial critics in respect of British educational policy in India being extracts from speeches of two representative Americans (Dr. Franklin Jeffreys and Dr. Jones), years 1907 and 1908.*

(a) "The British in India have done a splendid work along many lines in raising the people to a higher standard of civilization. They have fostered and developed a thorough educational system that has worked powerful changes in the thought and condition of the people. Perhaps the two greatest blessings brought to India have been the strong central Government and the growing spirit of nationalism. In the history of man nothing in the way of alien rule has been so vast in its magnitude, or so difficult in the carrying out as the attempt of our English cousins in India, and their splendid success challenges our highest admiration. In all India there is but a handful of English to rule, and they have been training a complex people, made up of 43 different races and nationalities, divided into 2,378 main castes, more or less antagonistic each of the other and holding a number of distinct religions. These are the people they have been fitting for self-rule"

(b) "The British Government in India has carried forward the whole people with it in a mighty current of progress. It has educated millions; it has breathed within them the spirit of unrest; it has made them

capable of much greater things than their ancestors ever dreamed; in brief, it has brought to them the first dawning sense of national existence and the desire for independence and power. And it has been quieting the spirit which it has thus roused by adding more and more to their privileges and powers. *It is to the everlasting credit of Great Britain that she has made the present agitation a possibility.*"

The backward and depressed classes insist on the maintenance of British influence.

Before concluding let me point out that when the Right Hon'ble the Secretary of State for India—Mr. Montagu—came to India at the end of the year 1917, and jointly with His Excellency the Viceroy granted interviews to the leaders of the country, and received deputations, from recognized public bodies, with the view of personally ascertaining the actual demand for radical political reforms, many deputations representing the depressed and backward classes waited on Mr. Montagu in the months of November and December, 1917, and in their addresses submitted to him forcibly pointed out "that the transfer of power from the British to Indian hands would be detrimental to the interests of the minorities who reposed implicit trust and full confidence in their British rulers who could hold the scales even between different classes in this country." The representatives of the Deccan Ryots (Agriculturists) Association in the course of their address remarked: "The great pride of British rule in India is that it has given equal opportunities of elevation to all classes. The depressed classes have just begun to show signs

of life and profit by the favourable conditions. Any change in the Indian policy calculated to upset these and re-introduce the reign of higher castes will be a death blow to all hopes of emancipation of the depressed classes."

About forty associations, conferences and leagues belonging to all parts of India and Burma—Rangoon, Calcutta, Patna, Allahabad, Lahore, Bombay, Madras, Poona, Sind and many other important towns and districts, made similar representations to the Secretary of State and to the Viceroy assuring them of their thorough confidence in the existing system of administration and praying for the maintenance of the same system. A perusal of these documents shows to what extent British rule is liked and appreciated by the masses in India.

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